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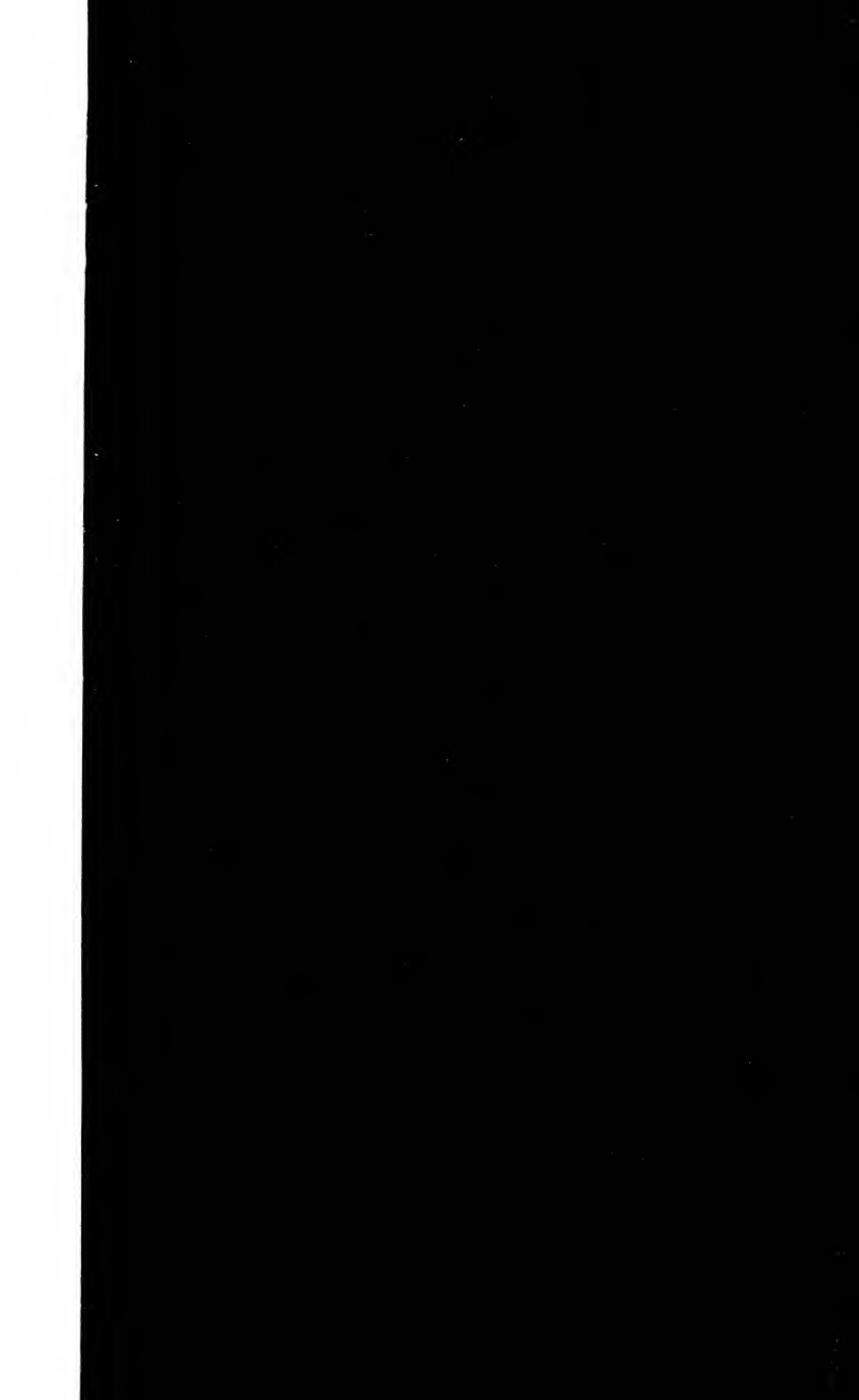
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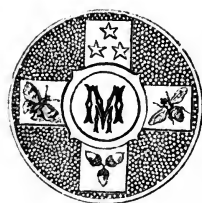
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**ADDRESSES,**  
**POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL.**



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ADDRESSES,  
POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL.

BY

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*March 17, 1879.*

IN this little volume I have collected together some speeches delivered in the House of Commons and elsewhere. I have not, however, in all instances given reference to any place or time of delivery, because I have rather been anxious that each chapter should represent, as far as possible, the present state of the subject. With this object, I have, in some cases, made changes so extensive that such a reference would in fact be incorrect. It will be for others to judge how far I have succeeded in making good the positions taken up; this only I may say, that I have spared no pains in collecting and verifying my facts.

HIGH ELMS, DOWN, KENT.

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# ESSAYS.

## I.

### *ON THE IMPERIAL POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN.*

THE attention of the country has of late been much directed to our Foreign and Colonial Policy ; and many of the speeches which have been made, contain severe reflections, not only on the present Government, but also on our conduct, as a whole, in reference to our colonies and to other countries.

It has been said, for instance, that our general foreign and colonial policy has often been characterised by a reckless and cynical selfishness, and that we have forgotten the great responsibilities which the position of England entails on her. Though I am far from denying that there have been cases in which we have made great mistakes, yet I cannot help thinking that in such remarks as these, we do ourselves much injustice.

The opinion which other races have formed of our rule is well shown by the history of such cases as Hongkong and Singapore. In the former, says Mr. Wood, "we find a small barren island, which

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1877.

at the time of its cession to Britain, was inhabited only by a few handfuls of fishermen, now crowded with tens of thousands of Chinese, who have crossed from the mainland because they knew that under British rule they would be free from oppressive taxation, would be governed by just laws, and would be able to carry on a thriving and profitable trade. Again, in the once uninhabited island of Singapore, we see a motley population attracted from China, the Malay Peninsula, and India by a similar cause.”<sup>1</sup>

Or take the case of Batavia, which we took from the Dutch and held for a short period. The period of our rule is thus described by a foreign and impartial historian.

“During the five years of the British possession,” says Heeren, “so wise and mild an administration was exercised, that after the restoration it seems to have been difficult for the natives and Europeans to accustom themselves again to Dutch dominion. During the short time it was in possession of Britain, a clearer light was shed over this remarkable island than was done during the two whole centuries of the dominion of Holland.”<sup>2</sup>

But lest it should be said that these are isolated and selected instances, let us consider whether, in our relations with our colonies, India, Ireland, and other countries, we are or are not open to these accusations. Now so far is it from being the case that we have forgotten our responsibilities, that there has for long

<sup>1</sup> *On the Benefit to the Colonies of being Members of the British Empire*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Heeren, *Political System of Europe*, p. 474.

past been scarcely a year when this country has not liberally and cheerfully borne a considerable expenditure, incurred for the good of others, and which we might very reasonably have declined to undertake.

I have, however, found considerable difficulty in arriving at the facts. I trust, therefore, that the numerous shortcomings which no doubt may be found in the following pages may be leniently regarded. The figures are scattered over a number of separate accounts, returns, reports, &c., and in some cases the figures, though correct, are apt to be misleading. Take, for instance, the first China war. In the return "Public Income and Expenditure," 1869, No. 366, 1, the expenditure is given as £2,201,028. But then, on looking back to the accounts of the several years, it will be seen that China paid us an indemnity of £4,050,000, which would leave a balance of £1,850,000. Out of this, however, it will be further found that we paid indemnities to certain merchants amounting to £1,260,000. Even this would apparently leave us an actual profit on the war, and indeed I have found some persons fully persuaded that we did make a profit. But in fact, and as is shown by another return, the above amounts do not contain the sums paid by the Navy and Ordnance Departments. Including these, the real cost of the war was not £2,200,000, but more than £4,200,000; so that, after allowing for the China indemnity on both sides, the war really cost us a very large sum. In other cases also—as, for instance, our West African squadron—no accounts showing the expense have been kept. I believe,

however, that the following facts will be found substantially correct.

I will divide what I have to say into three parts :—

1. Our relations with our Colonies.

2. „ „ India.

3. „ „ Ireland.

Firstly, then, with regard to the colonies. Other countries, we know, have derived a considerable portion of their revenue from their colonies and dependencies.

The Athenians exacted a considerable annual contribution from their allied States; and this formed, indeed, a very important portion of their revenue.<sup>1</sup> With the Romans it was “the first principle of taxation that the provinces were to defray the expenses of the empire.”<sup>2</sup> When they conquered Sicily they exacted a tenth of the field produce, and 5 per cent. of the value of all exports and imports. Coming down to more recent times, other countries—as, for instance, Spain, Portugal, and Holland—have derived considerable revenues from their colonial possessions.’

Very different has been the conduct of England. So far from deriving any revenue from our colonies, we have spent enormous sums of money for their benefit. As far as I have been able to ascertain, no account has been published showing the amount spent by the mother-country in the colonies before the year 1859; but from 1859 to 1869 it amounted to more than £41,000,000, being at the rate of £4,100,000 a year.

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, *Pelop. War*, Bk. I. ch. xix.; Bk. II. ch. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Sir A. Grant, *How the Romans Governed their Colonies*, p. 16. 1862.  
Sir A. Grant, *Rome, England, and India*, p. 45, 1863.

In the four following years the sums were as follows, viz :—

1870 . . . . £2,745,980		1872 . . . . £1,911,007
1871 . . . . £2,228,304		1873 . . . . £1,817,471

This considerable reduction arose from the fact that, down to 1870, the mother-country bore the military expenses of the colonies; and, though this has been by degrees to a great extent discontinued, and it is not thought necessary to maintain so large a force in the colonies, even now our expenditure under this head is very considerable. The amount for 1875 was, according to the last returns laid before Parliament, more than £1,500,000, the principal items being as follows :—

Canadian Dominion .	£313,000		China, Ceylon, &c. .	£100,000
South Africa . .	£200,000		Mediterranean . .	£650,000
West Indies . .	£200,000			

Moreover, the actual cost to this country is considerably more, because this return does not include the cost of arms, accoutrements, barrack, hospital, and other stores, nor any proportion for recruiting expenses, head-quarter expenses, or non-effective charges.

It may be said that our Mediterranean military expenditure can hardly be called “colonial,” and it is of course true that we could not expect such stations as Malta and Gibraltar to pay their own expenses. On the other hand, our great reason for keeping them up is in order to protect our communications with India and Australia; and if we were disposed to do so, we might well ask why the burden of keeping up these communications should fall altogether on us—why some part of

the cost should not be borne by India and the Australasian colonies. Moreover, the above-mentioned expenditure refers only to the troops on service out of the mother-country ; but, inasmuch as even the troops at home are available in case of need for colonial purposes, we might well, on a strict account, require some contribution towards the permanent expenses. Our national accounts show no sums devoted nominally to naval expenses on account of our colonies ; yet, in fact, this country bears the whole naval expense, which if they were independent would fall on them. For them we act as the police of the seas ; their shores are protected at our expense. What a saving this is to them, little consideration is required to show. Thirty millions of Englishmen in Great Britain and Ireland pay £12,000,000 a year for naval purposes : two hundred millions of our fellow-countrymen in the colonies and India pay scarcely anything.

That they would be put to very considerable expense under this head, if it were not for our fleet, is shown by the experience of other countries. France spends annually on her navy more than £5,000,000 ; Russia, £3,500,000 ; Turkey, £3,000,000 ; Austria, £2,000,000 ; Germany, £1,400,000 ; Italy, £1,700,000 ; Spain, £1,000,000 ; and, in case it should be said that these are all European powers, bidding against one another, I will add Brazil, £1,250,000 ; and the United States, £4,200,000. The latter owns 180 vessels, 50 of them ironclads, and carrying 1,300 guns, thus affording a remarkable contrast to her neighbour Canada, whose navy consists of about 8 little boats on the lakes, carrying 18 guns amongst them ! Our other colonies,

I believe, spend nothing on their navy, excepting Victoria, which has one small vessel.

Moreover, in addition to these annual and current expenses, there have been various colonial wars—wars in which the mother-country had only a secondary and subsidiary interest. Under this head I might mention in 1873–4 the Ashantee War, which cost us in round numbers £1,000,000; in 1865 the New Zealand war, £750,000; of which the colony afterwards paid £500,000, by a loan raised on bonds which we guaranteed; the Kaffir War (1849–53), £2,000,000; the two Chinese wars, &c.

A portion of the claim made upon us by America in reference to the *Alabama* and other cruisers was partly based on the fact that the authorities at Melbourne had allowed the *Shenandoah* to refit there. The arbitrators took this view; and we, not the colony, paid accordingly.

Nor must it be forgotten that, from some at least of our civil expenditure, the colonies derive a great benefit, without being put to any expense. They have the advantage of an Imperial Court of Appeal; the whole cost of international communication, of our embassies in foreign countries, of our consular establishments, the Colonial Office, the maintenance of the dignity of the Crown, are borne, cheerfully indeed, but exclusively, by those of her Majesty's subjects who reside in the mother-country.<sup>1</sup>

We carry on, no doubt, a great and lucrative trade with our colonies. The benefit of this trade, however, is mutual, and there are no differential duties or other

<sup>1</sup> India, however, contributes towards the expense of the embassy and consular establishments in China.

fiscal arrangements which give us any advantage over them. Wherever indeed there is any difference in the duties, it tells against us. Down to the year 1846, for instance, we admitted sugar from our West Indian colonies at a much lower duty than that from other countries. Several of our colonies are not yet alive to the advantages of Free-trade, but maintain a system of protective duties which injures our interests without benefiting those of the colonies.

On various occasions we have either advanced or guaranteed loans for our colonies. Since 1830 these sums have been as follows, viz. :

	£
In 1835 for Dominica . . .	10,000
„ 1843 „ Antigua . . .	100,000
„ „ „ Montserrat . . .	23,000
„ „ „ Nevis . . .	12,000
„ 1848 „ Tobago . . .	20,000
„ „ „ British Guiana . . .	70,000
„ „ „ Trinidad . . .	64,000
„ „ „ „ . . .	125,000
„ „ „ British Guiana . . .	250,000
„ „ „ Jamaica . . .	100,000
„ „ „ St. Lucia . . .	18,000
„ „ „ Grenada . . .	7,000
„ 1855 „ Jamaica . . .	500,000
„ 1857 „ New Zealand . . .	500,000
„ 1865 „ „ . . .	500,000
„ 1868 „ Canada . . .	1,500,000
„ 1873 „ „ . . .	1,500,000
„ „ „ Rupert's Land . . .	300,000
„ 1875 „ Canada . . .	1,500,000

The loan known as the Russo-Dutch loan stands on a different footing. It amounted originally to £1,750,000 with 5 per cent. interest, and was undertaken in 1815 “towards the satisfactory settlement of the Low Coun-



tries in union with Holland under the dominion of the House of Orange;" and, in consideration of it, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were ceded to Great Britain. None of the expense of this loan, however, fell on these colonies; on the contrary, the whole was thrown on the mother-country, and we are still paying £65,000 a year under this head.

In the year 1874, at the instance of the natives, and in consequence of the earnest request of our Australasian fellow-countrymen, we reluctantly consented to accept the cession of the Fiji Islands. As had been foreseen, the revenue fell short of the expenditure, and Parliament had to vote £40,000 in 1875, and £35,000 in 1876, to carry on the government of our new colony. Under these circumstances, Lord Carnarvon wrote to inquire whether our four great Australasian colonies would be disposed to contribute £4,000 a year each, thus still leaving the lion's share of the burden to the mother-country. I confess I regret that not one of the colonies has expressed any readiness to do so. Of course Lord Carnarvon did not press the matter; for, as he very truly observed, in an excellent circular letter of the 9th July, 1875, it would have been

obviously undesirable, in a matter where the grace of the action depended upon its being voluntary, and where the amount involved was so small that it would be mainly valuable as proving the readiness of the great colonies to accept their membership in the common duties of the Empire, to put the slightest pressure upon any one of them to make this joint contribution. It was, as I explained in my former despatch, principally to give trial and effect to the principle of joint action among different members of the Empire in such cases, that I invited co-operation in a matter in which the

contributions proposed were so inconsiderable as to make it practically immaterial, except in connection with such a principle, whether the arrangement could be at once carried out.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Julius Vogel, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, gave as one reason for his declining the suggestion, that "it is not the business of Governments to be liberal," which is perhaps true, but there is also an opposite course which seems still less appropriate. Sir Julius does not deny that New Zealand felt a great interest in the annexation of Fiji; but he urges that it "was trifling as compared with the interest which the mother-country had in it"—and why? On account of our "determination to put down South Sea slavery." Certainly, we feel strongly on that point, and are ready to submit to sacrifices in the future, as we have in the past; but I cannot believe that our fellow-countrymen in the colonies do not go with us on the question. But, although our colonies have not hitherto seen their way to act on Lord Carnarvon's suggestion, the general tone of the correspondence is most courteous, the views of the colonial press seem more liberal than those of the Governments, and though the result has thrown a considerable expense on Great Britain and Ireland, I think we shall hereafter look back with satisfaction on the course we have taken in this matter.

Our colonies, as a whole, have been remarkably prosperous, their profits high, their wages far above the English standard, but we have never grudged the large sums spent upon them, feeling ourselves more

<sup>1</sup> Earl of Carnarvon to the Gov. of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand. Downing Street, July 9, 1875.

than repaid by the proud satisfaction with which we view their continued and increasing strength and prosperity.

Much of what has been said with reference to the colonies applies also to India. It is hardly necessary to say that India makes no direct contribution to the general expenses of the Empire, nor to those home charges, from which she, like our colonies, derives no small advantage. No English labourer, no English taxpayer, derives a penny of direct advantage, or pays a penny less towards the revenues of the country, because we hold India.

So far as military expenditure is concerned, the greatest care is taken that India should pay nothing beyond what is necessary for the troops actually on duty there. It is amusing, if so serious a subject can be amusing, to see how energetically the India Office resists any application made by the War Office for any charge beyond what the Indian authorities regard as absolutely necessary.

As regards the navy also, India is treated with the utmost liberality. That she derives a great advantage from our fleet cannot be doubted. It saves her from a heavy expense, which she must otherwise have incurred; she contributes to it, however, only the small sum of £70,000 a year, in addition to which she spends about half a million on steam-tugs, inland vessels, pilotage allowances, port charges, &c.

Moreover, the possession of India has in various ways thrown very heavy charges on this country. The first war with China, in 1840, arose out of disputes connected with the opium trade. Whatever differences of opinion

there may be with reference to the effects of this drug, and our fiscal arrangements connected therewith, it is at least clear that the matter is one which concerns India, and not England. India derived even then from opium a revenue of £1,000,000 a year, which has since risen to £8,000,000. England, on the other hand, derives no revenue from opium. Yet, although the war of 1840 arose out of disputes about opium, and was therefore undertaken with reference to Indian interests, so scrupulous were we to throw no burden on India which could by any possibility be regarded as unfair, so determined to treat her not only with justice, but with liberality, that the expense of the expedition was borne entirely by the mother-country, though in the end the greater part was refunded by China.

The second China war, in 1857, arose out of a dispute about a small vessel called the *Arrow*. Now the *Arrow* was manned by Chinese; she was owned by a Chinaman, and the cargo belonged to a Chinaman; but the authorities of Hong Kong claimed her, by virtue of an Act of their local Legislature. This war, therefore, arose with reference to property not belonging to any one in Great Britain. It was defended by reference to colonial legislation; but, of course, Hong Kong could not bear the expense, which, amounting to £6,600,000, was paid by us, though China subsequently paid us an indemnity of £2,000,000, reducing the cost to £4,600,000.

Even the Crimean war was undertaken on grounds of Imperial policy, in which India and the Colonies were, to say the least, as much interested as Great Britain; but I need not say that all the expense fell

upon us. I observe that the Mohammedans of India have memorialised us to help the Turks—so ingrained is the idea that all war expenses, whatever the object may be, ought to fall exclusively on the mother-country. The general principles which regulate the pecuniary relations between Great Britain and India are clearly laid down in the 2nd clause of the Act 21 & 22 Vict., cap. 106, which directs that Indian revenues shall be expended “for the purposes of the government of India alone ;” and also in the 52nd clause, which directs the auditor to report on the accounts, “specially noting any case in which it shall appear to him that any money arising out of the revenues of India has been appropriated to other purposes than those of the government of India, to which alone they are applicable.”

These have been the principles on which we have governed India. We may have made mistakes there, as we have made mistakes at home ; but, at any rate, our honest effort and desire has been to govern India for the benefit of the people of India. That they have benefited hitherto by our rule cannot, I think, be denied. No one can doubt that their taxes are lighter, their lives and property more secure, than if they had remained under native rulers ; and it is at least certain that India does not contribute a penny to our English revenue. That we are loved in India cannot be maintained, and would perhaps be too much to expect. That our government is hated is, however, equally untrue.

That our rule is not unpopular was, I think, clearly shown during the mutiny. If our government had been characterised by avarice and injustice—if, on the whole, we had not been trusted and respected by the popula-

tion of India—we must then have been swept into the sea. The bravery of our gallant troops, the skill of their officers, would, under such circumstances, have availed little. The people of India took, however, no part against us, and their behaviour in that crisis is the strongest testimony to the mode in which we have fulfilled our great trust.

This is not the place to discuss the future relations between the two countries. The time will, I hope, come when it will be possible to entrust legislative duties to India, as we have done with several of our principal colonies; which, while still retaining the proud privilege of forming part of the greatest empire of the world, have yet the duty and responsibility of self-government. It is not, I think, unreasonable to hope that in the fulness of time, when India is ready for a representative government, she may, like our great colonies in Africa, America, Australia, and New Zealand, also elect to remain a member of the British Empire.

I have already alluded to some wars with native races, undertaken on behalf of our colonies. These have, no doubt, thrown a very considerable expense on the mother-country; but, on the whole, I think it is remarkable that we should have maintained such friendly relations with the aboriginal inhabitants in our colonies. In many cases—such, for instance, as the Maoris, Kaffirs, and Redskins—we had to deal with warlike races, continually at feud with one another; and, had they not felt that we were dealing fairly with them, we should, notwithstanding our strength, have been in constant conflict. Witness, for instance,

the Redskins. I will quote the striking testimony of an American bishop, Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, who thus contrasts the relations between America and Great Britain with the Indians in their respective territories :

On one side of the line [he says] is a nation that has spent \$500,000,000 in Indian wars; a people who have not one hundred miles between the Atlantic and the Pacific which has not been the scene of an Indian massacre; a Government which has not passed twenty years without an Indian war; not one Indian tribe to whom it has given Christian civilisation; and which celebrates its Centenary by another bloody Indian war. On the other side of the line are the same greedy, dominant Anglo-Saxon race, and the same heathen. They have not spent one dollar in Indian wars, and have had no Indian massacres. Why? In Canada the Indian treaties call these men "the Indian subjects of her Majesty." When civilisation approaches them they are placed on ample reservations, receive aid in civilisation, have personal rights in property, are amenable to law, and protected by law, have schools, and Christian people send them the best teachers.<sup>1</sup>

Again, the loans for which we are responsible are not limited to those raised in the interests of the colonies. We have also either guaranteed or ourselves lent various large sums in aid of other countries; there is the Sardinian loan of £2,000,000, and the Turkish of £5,000,000, on neither of which, indeed, have we been called on for any contribution. For the Greek loan, however, England has paid since 1843 the sum of £1,177,000.

I now come to the case of Ireland. Here it might, to judge from the invectives of Home Rulers, be feared that it would be difficult to make out a good case. On the contrary, however, it is not difficult, I think, to show

<sup>1</sup> *The Hunting Grounds of the Great West*, p. 43.

that Ireland has been and is treated most liberally. She is represented in the House of Commons by over a hundred members, which is even more than her fair proportion; and, as regards laws, certainly Ireland has nothing to complain of. Where they differ from ours, those differences have arisen from endeavours, whether wise or unwise, certainly honest, to adapt them to the peculiar requirements, conditions, and wishes of the country. As regards religious equality, there can be no doubt that Ireland possesses it perhaps even more completely than either England or Scotland. As regards land, Parliament has given Irish farmers certain facilities to enable them to purchase lands, which neither England nor Scotland enjoy. As regards Government patronage, the Irish also have more than their numerical proportion of Government offices. Lastly, I come to finance.

As long ago as 1822 Ireland was already very much dependent on the potato; and in that year a failure of the crop created great distress. On the 22nd of May a great meeting was held in London; no less than £260,000 was subscribed, in addition to which £44,000 was subscribed in Ireland, and £300,000 voted by Parliament.

In 1845-7 the crop again failed, and this time the results were much more disastrous. The distress in Ireland was dreadful. In this country the deepest sympathy was felt. Meetings were held, committees organised, and, in the words of the *Edinburgh Review*, in an interesting article on the famine, "from the Queen on her throne to the convict in the hulks, expenses were curtailed and privations endured in order to swell the Irish subscription." Altogether £434,784 was raised in



this manner, and sent, five-sixths to Ireland, and one-sixth to Scotland.

In addition to this, Government took powers to lend no less than £9,500,000 in mitigation of Irish distress ; and 3,000,000 persons received daily rations from the officials entrusted with the task. This enterprise, says the *Edinburgh Review*, “ was in truth the grandest attempt ever made to grapple with famine over a whole country. Organised armies amounting to hundreds and thousands have been rationed before ; but neither ancient nor modern history can furnish a parallel to the fact that upwards of 3,000,000 persons were fed every day, in the neighbourhood of their own houses, by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office.” It was originally intended that this sum voted by Parliament should be only a loan to Ireland ; but the distress continued, and in the year 1853 no less than £4,500,000 was absolutely remitted, being a present to Ireland of public money to that extent.

This sum, however, large as it is, by no means represents all that has been done for Ireland. There is a system by which, through certain Loan Commissioners, national money is advanced at low rates of interest for local works. Now from this point of view also Ireland has been most liberally dealt with : the amount advanced to England and Scotland together has been £31,123,000 ; to Ireland no less than £32,727,000. But more than this. In some cases, where the localities are unable to repay the money so advanced, the claim has been remitted ; and the amounts so remitted are as follows : for England, £249,000 ; for Scotland, £196,000 ; for

Ireland, £3,950,000 ; making, with the £4,500,000 already mentioned, no less than £8,497,000 of national money which has been, so to say, given to Ireland, against £445,000 to England and Scotland together.

So much for the past. I now come to the present. The taxation of Ireland differs in several ways from that of Great Britain ; but there is no one single tax which is heavier in Ireland than in Great Britain. On the other hand, Ireland is exempted altogether from certain taxes which in Great Britain produce about £4,500,000 a year.

They are as follows :

	£
Inhabited House Duty . . . . .	1,421,000
Land Tax . . . . .	1,090,000
Excise Licenses . . . . .	832,000
Dog Licenses . . . . .	343,000
Armorial Bearings . . . . .	118,000
Patent Medicines . . . . .	4,000
Railways . . . . .	737,000
	<hr/>
	4,545,000
	<hr/>

Ireland also enjoys an exemption from legacy duty, in favour of charitable bequests, which does not extend to English charities, and farmers in Ireland pay a lower rate of income-tax than those in England.

I now pass to the sums given out of the Imperial Treasury in aid of local expenditure. On this subject I will take my illustrations entirely from an Irish source—from an admirable address recently delivered by Lord Emly before the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. The contribution of Great Britain to the

national revenues is almost exactly ten times as large as that of Ireland ; or, if we consider the two countries from the point of view of their population, that of Ireland is very nearly one-sixth of that of Great Britain. The sums spent on police, education, and poor relief in the two countries are not in a very different ratio, being, in round numbers, £15,000,000 in Great Britain and £2,000,000 in Ireland. But, if we now consider the mode in which these sums are raised, what a contrast do we find ! In Great Britain the police costs £2,813,000, of which £2,205,000 is derived from local sources, and only £608,000 from the Imperial Exchequer. In Ireland the police costs £986,000 ;<sup>1</sup> but, having no wish to overstate the case, I will take only half of this, regarding the other half as a part of our military forces. Let us then take it at £493,000, of which no less than £411,000 is paid by government, and only £80,000 from local sources. The case of education is even more striking. In Great Britain more than half the expense—namely, £1,948,000—is obtained from local sources, while in Ireland, out of a total of £616,000, only £69,000 is provided from local sources ; the rest—£547,000—falling on the Imperial Exchequer.

Again, the separate civil establishments (other than Police, Education, and Poor Relief) are much heavier in

<sup>1</sup> Lord Emly takes the amounts for the year 1873, and as I wish to take these facts from an Irish source, and especially from one of such high authority, I shall follow him in this. I must add, however, that at present the Central Government bears more of the cost of police than was then the case ; so that, as regards Great Britain, the amount contributed in relief of rates is, under this head, now about £600,000 more than in 1873. On the other hand, the charge for Irish police has, in the meantime, risen from £820,000 to £1,210,000—showing an increase of no less than £400,000. The argument, therefore, remains practically unaffected.

proportion in Ireland than in Great Britain, being £1,542,000, against £4,219,000.

Now let us consider what effect this has on the rates. We have seen that the taxation raised in Ireland is just one-tenth of that raised in Great Britain: now, if Ireland received in aid of rates and for her civil establishments only in proportion to her population, as compared with that of Great Britain, she would have had to raise £698,000 more from local sources, and her rates would have been raised from 3s. 6*d.* to 5s. 2*d.*, or nearly 2s. in the pound; while, if her receipts from the Imperial Exchequer had been in proportion to her contributions—namely, one-tenth—she would have had to raise an additional sum of no less than £1,120,000, and her rates would have been raised to 6s. 3*d.*; in fact, they would have been very nearly doubled.

The last question to which I should like to direct attention is the effort—it may now almost be said the successful effort—which this country has made to put down the slave trade. In ancient times slavery was sanctioned by the highest authority. Slavery is allowed in the Old Testament. Xenophon proposed, in order to raise the revenues of Athens, that the State should purchase a large number of slaves, and work the silver mines. Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, while taking it as a matter of course that he will have slaves, presumes that he would not care to have any from Britain, because the Britons are so uncultivated that they are not worthy to form part of an Athenian household.

Aristotle, in the *Ethics*,<sup>1</sup> observes that “a family to be complete, must consist of freemen and slaves.” He

<sup>1</sup> Bk. i. ch. iv.

admits, indeed, that some have objected to slavery ; but, after an elaborate dissertation on the subject, in which he maintains that it is in entire conformity with the general scheme of nature, he finally comes to the conclusion that “slavery is founded both on utility and justice.” Gradually, however, and especially in modern times, more enlightened ideas have prevailed. For many years England has taken the lead in the endeavours to put down slavery—endeavours with which the names of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Buxton will long be honourably associated.

As long ago as 1788, on the motion of the then Prime Minister, the House of Commons passed a resolution against the slave trade, and as soon as the great war with Napoleon was concluded, we made treaties with the principal slave-owning countries on the subject, and even paid considerable sums of money to effect this object.

By the treaty of 1814 most of the European States recovered the territories which France had conquered. We on the contrary restored to France her colonies ; our reward—and a noble one—being that France promised us to abolish the slave-trade.<sup>1</sup> In the following year we made a treaty with Portugal, by which we paid her £300,000 and she agreed to abandon the slave-trade north of the equator. In 1817, we undertook to pay Spain £400,000 and she agreed to give up the slave-trade in all her dominions.<sup>2</sup>

At that time the number of slaves transported across the Atlantic amounted to more than 100,000 annually, and is even said to have risen in some years to over

<sup>1</sup> Heeren, *Political System of Europe*, p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 470.

130,000.<sup>1</sup> More than fifty years ago, therefore, we determined to keep a fleet of from twenty to thirty vessels on the West Coast of Africa, in order, as far as possible, to prevent this horrible traffic. France at first agreed to join us, and to keep the same number of vessels, but afterwards changed her mind, and the whole burden fell on us. There are no accounts which show the expense of this West African squadron. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in 1850, estimated it at more than £700,000 a year. It was estimated by several competent authorities at £1,000,000, while others, considering that we should, under any circumstances, keep a fleet on the West Coast of Africa, placed the extra expense of the slave-trade squadron at no more than £300,000 a year. In addition, however, to the pecuniary outlay, it involved a considerable sacrifice of life in consequence of the deadly climate. On various occasions the policy of continuing this blockade of a continent was questioned in the House of Commons; but it is remarkable that, though the expense was naturally referred to as an item of the discussion, the question never turned upon the cost, but only on the efficacy of the proceeding. No one would have objected to pay the money, if only the slaves could be saved. In fact, by this and other means, this detestable traffic has been almost entirely stopped, and from a return obtained by Colonel Sykes in 1869, it appears that in the four preceding years only twenty slaves were captured.

Nor were our efforts confined to the trade in slaves. Our West Indian Colonists, like others in tropical countries, were large slave-owners, and the mode of

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, cli. p. 1302.

emancipating these slaves was a matter of much anxious consideration. The subject was one of great difficulty, and the interests involved were enormous. The number of slaves at that time in the West Indies was 800,000,<sup>1</sup> and it was admitted on all hands that their emancipation would involve a great pecuniary loss to their masters. Under these circumstances, Lord Stanley, on the 14th of May, 1833, brought in, on behalf of the Government, the celebrated resolutions under which slavery was happily abolished in the British dominions. The Government at first contemplated a loan to the West Indian proprietors; but eventually, on the 11th of June, the Government proposed, not a loan but a free gift, of no less than £20,000,000. Mr. Briscoe moved to substitute £15,000,000; but so strong was the desire to do justice to the West Indies, that the larger sum was voted by 304 to 56, and the country, I may add, submitted without a murmur to this great sacrifice.

The actual resolutions were as follows :—

I. That it is the opinion of this Committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

II. That it is expedient that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject nevertheless to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

III. That all persons now slaves shall be registered as apprenticed labourers, and acquire thereby all rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of labouring, under conditions and for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

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<sup>1</sup> Hansard, xviii, June 3.

IV. That towards the compensation of the proprietors his Majesty be enabled to grant to them a sum not exceeding £20,000,000 sterling, to be appropriated as Parliament shall direct.

V. That his Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, and in aiding the local legislatures in providing, upon liberal and comprehensive principles, for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me then clear that the policy of Great Britain towards the colonies has been characterised by justness and even generosity; that as regards the colonies we have exercised our authority, not for our own profit, but for their advantage; that the mother-country has not only on various occasions made great sacrifices, but has also borne heavy and continuous charges for their benefit.

Indeed, when we look back on the whole history of the past, it is not, I think, too much to say that our country has exercised its great trust in a wise and liberal spirit, and governed the Empire in a manner scarcely less glorious than the victories by which that Empire was won.

Our colonies have now for the most part outgrown the need of material assistance from the mother-country. We may indeed hope that in case of need they would prove a strength and support to the Empire.

But, however this may be, we neither grudge nor regret the efforts we have made to promote their welfare. Far from it; we are amply repaid by the satisfaction with which we watch their progress and prosperity. Let us hope that the future will but serve to bind the colonies and the mother-country still more closely together.

<sup>1</sup> *Papers relating to the Abolition of Slavery.* Part I. Jamaica, 1833-35.



## II.

### *ON THE BANK ACT OF 1844.*

SPEECH ON THE CURRENCY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
MARCH 26TH, 1873.

SIR,—The Honourable Member for Glasgow has moved that “the present system of Currency is dangerous to the commerce of the country, and that some change is necessary to prevent such extreme fluctuations in the discount rate as have been frequent since the passing of the Bank Act of 1844, and that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she will be pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the means of remedy for the evils complained of.”

Fifteen eventful and instructive years have now elapsed since the last Parliamentary inquiry into the operation of the laws by which the Currency is regulated. Under these circumstances, it is, I think, desirable that our financial history during this period should be carefully recorded, and that the statistical tables which we now have up to 1857 should be brought down to the present day. There are, moreover, some points in which our present laws, or rather our present customs, might, perhaps, be modified with advantage. As when one of Her Majesty's ships is

wrecked, it is usual to have a court-martial: in the same way a suspension of the Bank Act may be said to afford sufficient ground for a Parliamentary inquiry. So far, therefore, I do not differ from the honourable Member for Glasgow, though I am unable to accept his resolution. I do not wish, indeed, to lay any special stress on the appointment of a Committee, rather than of a Commission, although the former seems to me more convenient, and follows up the precedents of 1848 and 1858. It is, however, impossible for me to accept the motion of the honourable Member for Glasgow, because I do not believe that the present system of Currency is dangerous to commerce, or that fluctuations in the rate of interest can be prevented by Act of Parliament. I do not propose on the present occasion to enter into any general discussion on the nature of money, or the general subject of the Currency, but will confine myself to the consideration of the so-called Bank Act of 1844, by which the issue of Bank of England notes is regulated. The main provision of that Act is that, except as regards a certain sum, originally fixed at £14,000,000 (but now extended to £15,000,000), to which extent bank notes are issued against securities, coin or bullion must be held for every note issued to the public. The Bank of England, on the one hand, pays in gold any of its own notes presented to it, and, on the other hand, issues notes to any amount in exchange for gold. It must be remembered in fact that the Act of 1844, although called a Bank Act, is, in fact, only a Bank Note Act. It does not interfere in any way with the Bank of England, as a bank of deposit and discount; it merely limits the issue of bank notes to a certain fixed sum,

*plus* the amount of bullion. The main object was to secure the convertibility of the note, and this it has done. In all other respects the bank was, and is, perfectly free. Those who advocate what they call free banking often refer to the United States as a model. But, in fact, while true Banking—Banking as opposed to the issuing of bank notes—is perfectly free in Britain, such is not the case in the United States. On the contrary, in that country the law attempts to regulate, not only the Currency, but the direct banking business of the so-called National Banks; and provides that they must hold a cash reserve of either 15 per cent., or, in the so-called “Redemption Cities,” 25 per cent. of their total liabilities to the public. These limits have not, however, as a matter of fact, always been maintained. In last December, for instance, the New York banks infringed the law in this respect; their reserve being below the legal amount. The *Economist* (7th December, 1872), in a very able article, maintains, and I think with reason, that the system “is very far from a success. It lays down a hard and fast line, which fetters some banks, and is superfluous for others, while it can hardly be said, looking at the strain upon the New York banks, that it suffices to secure an ample reserve in the proper quarter.”

But though Banking proper is perfectly free in this country, the issue of notes is regulated by the Act of 1844; up to which time the Bank of England had been left to exercise its own discretion. In considering the policy of the Act, it is very necessary to remember the history of our Currency before 1844, and the events which induced Sir R. Peel to propose the Bank Act.

In 1797 the bullion in the Bank of England had almost run dry, and the directors intimated to Government their fear that they would be unable to meet their engagements. The Government replied by the Order in Council of the 26th February, suspending cash payments. The Act, confirming this Order, contemplated a resumption of cash payments in June of the same year; but, the fatal step once having been taken, the suspension was prolonged by subsequent Acts until the close of the war. Even then, however, the Bank of England was not in a position to resume cash payments: nor did this state of things cease until 1823. It must not, however, be supposed that this period was free from financial difficulties. On the contrary, in 1800-1, the commercial distress was very great; in 1811, it was so severe that Parliament authorized an advance to merchants of £6,000,000 against approved securities; in spite of which, failures were very numerous. Again, from 1814 to 1816, there was "a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, mining, shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of the most extensive suffering and distress."<sup>1</sup> In fact, it would be well if those who regard an unlimited and irredeemable paper currency as a panacea for all financial evils, would study the history of our commerce from the suspension of cash payments in 1796, to their resumption in 1823.

In 1825, within a year or two after the resumption of cash payments, the Bank of England was, in the

<sup>1</sup> Tooke's *History of Prices*, v. ii., p. 12.

words of Mr. Tooke, drained almost to exhaustion. It has been often stated that on this occasion the bank was saved by the accidental preservation of a box containing £700,000, in £1 notes, which were put into circulation, and stopped the run for gold. At this period no less than 70 banks suspended in one month; a suspension due to panic; as was shown by the fact that many of them paid in full, and the whole on an average paid 17s. 6d. in the pound. In 1836, the bullion in the Bank of England was again very low, and in 1839 the bank was driven to the expedient of raising £2,000,000 by drawing on Paris. This had, indeed, become necessary under the circumstances. Mr. Palmer, Governor of the bank, in his evidence before the House of Commons, said:—"The case of the year 1839 was one of positive necessity; the bullion in the bank was reduced so very low, by the discredit that existed of the bank itself upon the Continent of Europe as to endanger specie payments, so that there would have been no alternative but suspending altogether making payments in specie if they had not resorted to public credit."<sup>1</sup>

In short, the bullion in the bank was allowed to fall to £1,000,000 in 1797; to £1,261,000 in 1825; to £3,831,000 in 1837; to £2,406,000 in 1839. Under these circumstances, some legislative enactments were obviously necessary, and the Bank Act was accordingly passed: since which time the bullion has never on any occasion fallen below £6,000,000. It may be said that the Bank of England would, under any circumstances, have kept up its supply of bullion. Such an opinion will not, however, I think, be maintained by any one

<sup>1</sup> *Com. on Commercial Distress*, 1847. Answer, No. 2,014.

who has carefully considered the subject. I have great confidence in the judgment and prudence of the Bank Court; but the truth is, that without the Act of 1844 it would be almost impossible for the directors to maintain such large reserves as they do now. There are times when these reserves would seem, to all those who did not look far ahead, extravagant and unnecessary. The bank rate affects, not only the operations of the bank itself, but a great variety of other transactions, and so many persons are interested in the matter, that immense pressure is always brought on the directors to reduce the rate as soon as it seems possible to do so. The Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1858, after carefully considering the evidence, reported that the true judgment of the Bank Court would, under any circumstances, lead the directors to act as if the Act of 1844 were in existence; "but yet it is not expedient to expose them to the influence of such a pressure as would inevitably be applied at such a time."

Nay, this was the opinion of the bank itself. The Governor, Mr. Palmer, was asked before the Committee of 1858: "Looking at the present views of the bank directors, and to the experience which they have now acquired, do you think it probable that if the Bank Act had not been enforced, they would still have been desirous to pursue precisely the same course as they have actually pursued in that respect?" He replied candidly: "I think they would have been desirous to do so; but I am not sure that the influence of pressure from without might not have acted a little to warp their judgement."

Mr. W. Fowler, who is so well qualified to speak

on such a subject, has also expressed the same opinion in his pamphlet on the panic of 1866, and I believe it would be generally shared by those who had studied our financial history. If, then, we do not maintain the principle of the Act of 1844, depend upon it that, in future panics, we shall have no such stock of bullion to fall back upon, as that which under this Act the Bank is compelled to hold, and that consequently no mere Treasury letter will be sufficient to avert a suspension of cash payments.

One of the accusations which has been brought against the Act of 1844, attributes to that Act the effect of rendering the establishment of new banks impossible. With regard to England, this is certainly not the case, and numerous new banks have been founded. It is true that in Scotland no new banks have recently been established, and the state of the Scotch circulation seems to me to be one of the questions which are well worth consideration, especially since the Scotch banks have opened branches in England. Admitting, however, that the present system has secured the convertibility of the bank note, it may be said that this result, however important, may have been secured at too great a cost. What, then, are the objections generally brought against the Act of 1844? They are—firstly, that it creates panics; secondly, that it necessitates high rates; thirdly, that it causes great fluctuations in the rate of interest; and fourthly, that it prescribes a fixed and rigid limit. It must be remembered, however, that there were panics before 1844, and that they are not confined to England. In the opinion of the Committees of this House which investigated the circumstances most carefully, the

panics of 1847 and 1857 were mainly caused by the numerous failures which then occurred : not the failures caused by the panics. The unsound state of trade in 1847 and 1857 is sufficiently proved by the condition of the houses which failed. Many persons are under the impression that sound and solvent houses were pulled down by those panics. The facts show this to be entirely an error. The average dividend paid by the firms which stopped did not amount to more than 4s. in the pound, which sufficiently proves that they were hopelessly insolvent.

Mr. Coleman, the accountant, than whom no one was more competent to speak on such a subject, was asked before the committee of 1858, "Speaking generally with regard to 1847, of which your experience is now complete, are you prepared to say that the failures which occurred in that year were owing to any imperfection of the law, by which the facilities for obtaining credit were unduly curtailed?"—"No."

"With regard to the year 1857, what would your answer be to the same question?"—"That every house which applied for and deserved assistance received it."

Mr. Ball, another of the principal accountants in London, was asked whether, in his opinion, the result would have been advantageous either to those houses or to the public, if they had been sustained, and he expressed his conviction that the longer this had been done, the greater would the ultimate loss have been ; in confirmation of which, it may be observed that the three great banks—The Western Bank of Scotland, the Liverpool Borough Bank, and the Northumberland and Durham Bank—as well as the two discount houses



which failed in 1857, the stoppage of which so much aggravated the panic, were all in difficulties in 1847, and were then assisted by the Bank of England.

I will now pass to the second objection—namely, that the high rates which were reached in 1847, 1857, and 1866, were caused by the Bank Act. But, if so, they would have been confined to this country. Now, in 1847, when our rate went up to 8 per cent., it was 7 per cent. in New York, and on trade bills, even 18 per cent. In Hamburg, again, it reached 7 per cent., though generally the Hamburg rates are below ours. In 1857, when our rate was 10 per cent., the Bank of France had also raised its rate to 10 per cent., and the rate at Hamburg was 9 per cent. ; while even at that rate, there were only three or four houses whose bills were taken freely. In New York, sixty-two out of sixty-three banks suspended ; most of those in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore did the same, and the rate of interest ranged from 18 to 24 per cent. In 1866, when our rate was 10, that of the Bank of Prussia was  $9\frac{1}{2}$ , while at New York the rate for short loans was 7 per cent., on good bills 7 to 8 per cent., and on ordinary trade bills from 10 to 18 per cent. It is true that the Bank of France rate, at that time, was 4 per cent. ; but that very fact showed the extent to which English paper was discredited. The French capitalists preferred to get 4 per cent. for their money in France, rather than to discount English bills at 10 per cent.

The third complaint against the Act of 1844 is that it has caused numerous and extreme changes in the rate of interest. I do not understand that the Act is supposed to have made money dearer on the average, and

such has certainly not been the result. No doubt these fluctuations have of late years been more frequent than was formerly the case; but I believe that this is due more to the condition of commerce than to the action of the law. It seems to me a clear proof of this, that for ten years succeeding the passing of the Act—from 1844 to 1854—there were only twenty-five changes in the rate of interest, or, on an average,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  a year. It is no doubt true that latterly they have been more numerous. In 1872 there were fourteen changes, while the Bank of France only altered once—viz., on the 1st of March, when the rate was lowered from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent. Our rates, on the contrary, varied from 3 per cent. to 7 per cent. The fact is, however, that the conditions of the Paris money market are so different from ours, that any comparison between them for such a purpose must be unsatisfactory. New York is a much more apposite case, and those who wish for a change in our system of currency generally point to America as a model. Now, in New York, last year, the rate of interest on first-class bills altered twenty-three times, and varied from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 per cent. Thus, while the difference here between the extremes, even last year, was 4 per cent., that in New York was was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The contrast between London and New York is still more marked, if we take the rates on money loaned from day to day. In London, the rates allowed for money at call varied from 2 to 5 per cent.; but in New York the rates charged on loans from day to day varied from a *minimum* of 3 per cent. to a *maximum* of 7 per cent., with, in some cases,  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. commission; thus bringing the rate up to 40 or even 50 per cent. per annum. Surely,

then, it is obvious that it would be an entire mistake to suppose that the adoption of the American system would prevent fluctuations and periods of pressure in the money market.

I am sure, however, that every one who is conversant with the subject will agree with me when I say that, Bank Act or no Bank Act, if the Bank of England wish to retain her business, she must follow the market rate of interest. The Bank of England is often said to fix the rate of interest, just as Britannia is said to rule the waves. We cannot, however, prevent storms in the money market, any more than we can level the waves of the ocean ; and if the Bank of England attempted to maintain a uniform rate of interest, she would at one period be deprived of all her discount business, and at another lose all her reserve.

Lastly, some have objected to the Act of 1844, in that it contains a fixed and rigid limit ; but this is an objection, not so much to the Act, as to the nature of things. Before 1844 there was a limit, just as there is now ; then the reserve of the Bank of England was in gold ; now it is in notes ; but it was as much fixed in the one case as in the other. There is, however, this important difference, that the present limit can be altered by a stroke of the pen, as we have always a large stock of bullion in reserve. The three panic years of 1847, 1857, and 1866, so far from being periods when the Act broke down, were times when it proved most useful. The reserve which was intended to maintain the convertibility of the note was temporarily used to support public credit. Our credit system was for the moment endangered, but the Act of 1844 had kept for us, beyond

the Bank reserve, a stock of bullion which proved most useful. It is all very well to say that if it had not been for the Act, the bullion would have been available, and that there would have been no cause for panic; the truth is that, but for the Act, the Bank of England would not have held that stock of bullion.

Many of those who oppose the Act seem to suppose that panics are confined to this country. Panics at home naturally produce more impression on us than those which occur elsewhere, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that periods of difficulty have been peculiar to England. On the contrary, they occur wherever trade is complicated and extensive.

Take the case of America. During the autumn of 1814, all the banks south and west of New England suspended specie payments.<sup>1</sup> From the 1st of January, 1811, to the 1st of July, 1830, 165 banks in the United States suspended operations.<sup>2</sup> In 1825, the rate of interest in New York was from 12 to 36 per cent., and, as stated in a Boston paper of that date, "the merchants cracked like parched corn."<sup>3</sup> In 1837, every bank in the United States stopped payment; and I have already shown that since 1844, America has not been more free from financial difficulties than we have.

There is, however, one way in which our system of Currency differs materially from one entirely metallic. Bank notes can be carried about and locked up much more easily and safely than the gold they represent. Notes can be sent by post, and timid persons during a panic may, under present circumstances, at once with-

<sup>1</sup> Gallatin's *Considerations on Currency and Banking System of the United States*, p. 42.    <sup>2</sup> *l. c.*, p. 105.    <sup>3</sup> Tooke's *History of Prices*, p. 172.

draw their deposits and lock up the notes. Notes also can be easily sent by post, and if in halves, the risk and trouble of adopting that course are almost inappreciable. But with sovereigns the case is different. There is not only great danger of robbery, but they are both heavy and bulky. During the panic of 1825, a poor woman went to Williams's Bank in the west of England, changed a number of notes for gold, and set out, much relieved in her mind, to walk home. But though her heart was light, her pockets were heavy, and before she had got half way she began to repent what she had done, and feeling very tired, sat down to rest and count her treasure. While she was doing so, a butcher boy came by, and at once, seeing the state of the case, informed her, with that ready wit which characterizes butcher boys, that he was sorry for her, for she evidently did not know that the Sovereign Bank in London had stopped payment. The story adds, that she jumped up, hurried back to the bank, and after abusing the astonished cashier, insisted on having back her notes. It is obvious that while to draw a balance of £10,000 in ten notes of £1,000 is an affair of seconds, to carry off 10,000 sovereigns is a much more serious matter.

Many writers on these subjects have assumed that during panics, cheques become comparatively useless, and that thus a greatly increased amount of notes is required. I do not, however, believe this to be the case; on the contrary, during a panic, creditors are glad enough to get a cheque. The increase in the circulation arises, I believe, from the natural wish on the part of banks, and especially those at a distance from London, to keep a large supply of cash at such times.

I hope that in any future period of pressure, the bank directors and other bankers, while raising the rate, will as far as possible avoid giving rise to an impression that they contemplate refusing any good "business" bills. Nothing, I believe, would tend more to prevent panics than the feeling that, at the current rate, good bills would be negotiable. If that were the case, the public would present for discount as few bills as possible, whereas in the late panics they often discounted much more than was necessary, under the apprehension that if they waited they might not be able to discount at all. Still, we should indeed be blind to the lessons of the past if we hoped to avoid difficulties in the future. Under any system of law we must expect to pass through times of pressure and difficulty. Mr. PALGRAVE, in an interesting paper recently read before the Statistical Society, has estimated the total banking liabilities of this country at £828,000,000—£483,000,000 being in his opinion due by English banks,<sup>1</sup> £96,000,000 by Scotch banks, £41,000,000 by Irish banks, and £152,000,000 by foreign and colonial banks established in London. This, however, includes capital, and other deposits not payable at call. The sum which might be demanded at any moment is, of course, much smaller; Mr. Palgrave estimates it at about £500,000,000,<sup>2</sup> while the cash and notes held are, and must be, small in proportion.

It is obvious, therefore, that no prudence, and I may

<sup>1</sup> I confess that I think this is too large an estimate.

<sup>2</sup> I do not wish to be regarded as accepting this estimate; on the contrary, I believe that the sum which could practically be demanded at any moment is much below this; but I do not propose to discuss this question at present.

add no law, can obviate the possibility of panics. As regards the body to which I have the honour of belonging, I may observe that on the very worst day of the panic in 1857, the London Bankers had £5,500,000 deposited at the Bank of England, in addition to the reserves in their own tills. It must, then, be admitted that we had acted with prudence and forethought. Moreover, it must always be remembered that the pressure in the Money Market in 1847, 1857, and 1866, arose, as the published returns fully prove, not from any withdrawal of deposits from the banks, but from an entirely abnormal and extraordinary demand for loans and discount on the part of the public. It is one thing to hold a sufficient reserve to meet any demands which can be made for deposits, but applications for loans and discount in addition to this cannot be calculated.

Moreover, though the *minimum* amount of notes which can ever be in circulation may be estimated with certainty, it is impossible to foresee the *maximum* which may be required. So far as any gradual increase is concerned, the case is met by the provisions of the Act; but it is different with any sudden demand for notes, such as occurred, for instance, in May, 1866, when the amount in circulation rose from £22,300,000 to £26,100,000 in one week. What, then, would happen if we had a repetition of such a state of things as that which occurred in 1857, which year I take in preference to 1866, because the facts of the latter year are not fully known to us.

On the 12th of November, 1857, the reserve of the Bank of England consisted of £450,000 in coin, and £131,000 in notes, while the deposits of the London

bankers with the Bank of England amounted to £5,458,000. Under these circumstances, the Treasury wrote a letter stating that, should the bank exceed the authorised issue of notes, the Government would bring in a Bill of Indemnity. It must be remembered that this letter did not alter the legal position of the bank. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has no authority to suspend the Bank Act. No doubt it would always be satisfactory to the bank directors to know that they were acting with the concurrence of Government, but this did not affect their responsibility in law. It seems, however, to have been generally supposed that, in the absence of such a letter, the Bank of England and other bankers would have been compelled to cease discounting, and that they would thus have saved themselves, at the expense of the mercantile community. This idea has caused, no doubt, a difference between the currency panics before and after 1844. The truth is, that banks cannot, under such circumstances, suddenly cease to discount. The proper course is to act on the exchanges by timely precautions; but if banks ceased to discount, the result would be that we should lose more by the panic which would be produced, the hoarding of notes, and the withdrawal of deposits, than would be saved by the diminution of advances. The bank directors must honestly endeavour to conform to the Act; but, if a sudden emergency arise, they must do their best under the circumstances; and, if necessary, come to the House of Commons for an indemnity.

It must be remembered, that the bank does not hold the bullion as trustee for the note-holders. The object of the Act was to regulate the issue, not to give the



note-holders any additional security for the ultimate payment of the notes. Under the circumstances, therefore, while, on the one hand, the bank directors ought not to over-issue notes, on the other they cannot refuse the cheques of depositors as long as they have funds. Whether they were responsible for the position, or whether it was due to causes beyond their control, is, of course, another question. The governor who permits an over-issue of notes, even with the sanction of a Treasury letter, incurs a grave responsibility; but it would also be a very grave one to close the doors of the bank. In certain contingencies, then, it seems, and Parliament has sanctioned the belief, that the directors of the Bank of England might be compelled to extend the issue of notes beyond the limit contemplated by the Act of 1844. And if the Bank of England applied for permission, I presume that any Chancellor of the Exchequer would follow the precedent set in previous panics. I confess, however, that I should be reluctant to entrust him with a legal power to do so, because I think that such a course might lead to an over-issue without sufficient reason. Should any such power be granted, it must, I think, be vested in the Government; though it cannot be denied that there is much force in Lord Overstone's objection, that "the circumstances under which it would be necessary to exercise the discretion cannot be defined beforehand."

If, then, these views be correct, we have no cause to regard the Act of 1844 with apprehension. As a matter of fact, even in the worst days of 1847, 1857, and 1866, good bills could always be discounted. I hope that no suspension of the Act may again be found

necessary ; but, at any rate, while we must no doubt expect times of difficulty and periods of pressure in the future, still, as long as the Act of 1844 is maintained on the Statute Book, we shall always have a supply of bullion in reserve sufficient to carry the country through any momentary panic.

It is, of course, undeniable that the fluctuations in the rate of interest have been greater since 1844 than they were before, but so have been those in commerce itself. In 1819 our exports and imports were £65,000,000, and in 1844 they were £144,000,000, showing an increase of £79,000,000 in twenty-four years ; but in 1872 they were £608,000,000, being an increase in twenty-seven years since the Act was passed of no less than £464,000,000. Taking the amounts which pass through the Clearing House on the 4th of the month as indicative of our inland trade, in 1839 they were £1,200,000 on an average : the figures were not again ascertained till 1867, but the amount now averages more than £22,000,000.

The amount passing through the Clearing House in 1839 was under £1,000,000,000. It is true that this amount does not include the Joint Stock Banks, but if we allow another £500,000,000 on this amount, we should probably be beyond the mark. After that the figures were not taken till 1867, when they were £3,260,000,000. Last year they amounted in round numbers to £5,360,000,000, and this year they will probably exceed £6,000,000,000. Surely, with these facts before us, it cannot be said that the Bank Act has prevented the development of our commerce, while it certainly has secured the convertibility of the note.

I do not say that in some details the Act might not be improved, but I hope that we shall never consent to tamper with the firm basis of our currency, or to abandon the main principles of a system under which our commerce has attained a magnitude and prosperity, unsurpassed and even unparalleled, in the history of the world.

### III.

#### *ON THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION.*

1876.

MILTON in his letter to Master Samuel Hartlib on education, tersely says "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year," for as he truly observes "though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only." His complaint resolves itself into two parts; firstly, that such exclusive devotion should be shown to Latin and Greek; secondly, he condemns the mode in which these languages were taught. We still, indeed, teach the Latin Grammar, rather than the Latin language, for a man cannot surely be said to know a language which he cannot speak; and I cannot but believe that if our children were taught Latin and Greek as they are taught French or German, they would learn them in half the time now occupied. Mr. Arnold, in his report on German schools, tells us that

it is common there for the master to address his boys in Latin, and for the class to speak Latin in reply. "The German boys," he adds, "have certainly acquired through this practice a surprising command of Latin." Into this part of the question, however, I do not now propose to enter.

Milton's second complaint, that our children are made to "stick unreasonably in these grammatick flats and shallows," has been re-echoed from time to time by various high authorities. Of late years, for instance, we have had five Commissions specially appointed to inquire into, or to deal with educational matters. Let us see whether the evils so long ago deplored by Milton, had in their opinion been removed.

The first of these Commissions was appointed, in the year 1861, to inquire into the management of our great public schools: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charter House, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, and Shrewsbury. This Commission, after a careful inquiry, expressed a strong opinion that more time should be devoted to the study of modern languages, while as regards science, they reported with regret that it was "practically excluded from the education of the higher classes in England."

Education, they say, is, in this respect, narrower than it was three centuries ago, whilst science has prodigiously extended her empire, has explored immense tracts, divided them into provinces, introduced into them order and method, and made them accessible to all. This exclusion is, in our view, a plain defect, and a great practical evil. It narrows unduly and injuriously the mental training of the young, and the knowledge, interests, and pursuits of men in maturer life. Of the large number of men who have little aptitude or taste for literature, there are many who have an aptitude

for science, especially for science which deals, not with abstractions, but with external and sensible objects ; how many such there are can never be known, as long as the only education given at schools is purely literary, but that such cases are not rare or exceptional can hardly be doubted by any one who has observed either boys or men. Nor would it be an answer, were it true, to say, that such persons are sure to find their vocation sooner or later. But this is not true. We believe that many pass through life without useful mental employment, and without the wholesome interest of a favourite study, for want of an early introduction to one for which they are really fit. It is not, however, for such cases only, that an early introduction to natural science is desirable. It is desirable, surely, though not necessary, for all educated men.

To clergymen, and others who pass most of their lives in the country, or who, in country and town, are brought much into contact with the middle and lower classes, an elementary knowledge of the subject, early gained, has its particular uses ; and we believe that its value as a means of opening the mind and disciplining the faculties is recognized by all who have taken the trouble to acquire it, whether men of business or of leisure. It quickens and cultivates directly the faculty of observation, which in very many persons lies almost dormant through life, the power of accurate and rapid generalization, and the mental habit of method and arrangement ; it accustoms young persons to trace the sequence of cause and effect ; it familiarizes them with a kind of reasoning which interests them, and which they can promptly comprehend ; and it is perhaps the best corrective for that indolence which is the vice of half-awakened minds, and which shrinks from any exertion that is not, like an effort of memory, merely mechanical.

Again, in 1864, another Commission was appointed to inquire into the management of our endowed schools. This Commission consisted of Lord Taunton, Lord Derby, Lord Lyttelton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Dr. Hook, the Bishop of Exeter, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Forster, Dr. Storrar, and others. They also reported in favour of teaching French and German in our public schools, and spoke even more strongly with reference to science :—

Of the witnesses, they say, whom we examined on this point, almost all who were not schoolmasters desired the adoption in schools of some branch of natural science, though as a rule they did not aim at the deposition of any existing subject; they thought natural science should have its due place, without interfering with the other studies. They judged it desirable for various reasons—as a means of cultivating the faculties of observation; as an important agent in mental discipline; as providing useful knowledge, capable of being applied to the purposes of life; and some recommended it on all these grounds.

We cannot, they continue, consider any scheme of education complete which omits a subject of such high importance.

We think it established that the study of natural science develops, better than any other studies, the observing faculties; disciplines the intellect, by teaching induction as well as deduction; supplies a useful balance to the studies of language and mathematics, and provides much instruction of great value for the occupations of after-life.

Nor would it be wise, in a country whose continued prosperity so greatly depends on its ability to maintain its pre-eminence in manufactures, to neglect the application of natural science to the industrial arts, or overlook the importance of promoting the study of it, even in a special way, among its artizans.

I have quoted these opinions at length, both on account of the force and clearness with which they are expressed, and also on account of the weight which naturally attaches to the opinion of the eminent men who constituted these Commissions.

In consequence of these reports, two executive Commissions were subsequently constituted. One, consisting of the Archhishop of York, Lord Salisbury, Lord Coleridge, Mr. Russell Gurney, Sir John Lefevre, Mr. C. S. Parker, and myself, was appointed to deal with the seven great public schools; the other, the well-known and little appreciated Endowed Schools Commission, to reorganize the endowed schools. Both these Com-

missions did all in their power to promote the study of modern languages and of science, thereby clearly indicating their opinion that, until now, science and modern languages have been unduly neglected in our public schools system.

Lastly, in the year 1875, yet another Commission, which was appointed, under the presidency of the Duke of Devonshire, to inquire into the state of scientific instruction in this country, has reported that—

Though some progress has no doubt been achieved, and though there are some exceptional cases of great improvement, still no adequate effort has been made to supply the deficiency of scientific instruction pointed out by the Commissioners of 1861 and 1864. We are compelled, therefore, to record our opinion that the present state of scientific instruction in our schools is extremely unsatisfactory.

The omission from a liberal education of a great branch of intellectual culture is of itself a matter for serious regret; and, considering the increasing importance of science to the national interests of the country, we cannot but regard its almost total exclusion from the training of the upper and middle classes as little less than a national misfortune.

This strong opinion is unfortunately only too clearly justified by the evidence they have collected. The returns show that in a large number of the endowed schools, science is entirely ignored, while even where it is taught at all, not more than from one to two hours a week are devoted to it. The Commissioners have published returns from more than 120 of the larger endowed schools; in more than half of these no science whatever is taught; only thirteen have a laboratory; and only eighteen possess any scientific



apparatus. Out of the whole number, less than twenty schools devote as much as four hours a week to science; and only thirteen attach any weight at all to scientific subjects in the examinations.

The wise remarks of the Prince Consort in his address to the Birmingham and Midland Institute are still, if not quite to so great an extent, applicable to our schools.

"The study," he said, "of the laws by which the Almighty governs the Universe is therefore our bounden duty. Of these laws our great academies and seats of education have, rather arbitrarily, selected only two spheres or groups (as I may call them) as essential parts of our national education: the laws which regulate quantities and proportions, which form the subject of mathematics, and the laws regulating the expression of our thoughts, through the medium of language, that is to say, grammar, which finds its purest expression in the classical languages. These laws are most important branches of knowledge, their study trains and elevates the mind, but they are not the only ones; there are others which we cannot disregard, which we cannot do without."

Our eloquent countryman, Mr. Ruskin, has truly said that

"The whole force of education, until very lately, has been directed in every possible way to the destruction of the love of nature. The only knowledge which has been deemed essential among us is that of words, and next after it of the abstract sciences; while every liking shown by children for simple natural objects has either been violently checked (if it took an inconvenient form for the housemaids), or else scrupulously limited to hours of play: so that it has really been impossible for any child earnestly to study the works of God but against its conscience; and the love of nature has become inherently the characteristic of truants and idlers."

The results which we might reasonably expect from a

more enlightened system of education, have, I think, been well expressed by Prof. Huxley.

“I have,” he says, “a very clear conviction as to what elementary education ought to be, what it really may be when properly organized, and what I think it will be before many years have passed over our heads in England and America. Such education should enable an average boy of fifteen or sixteen to read and write his own language with ease and accuracy, and with a sense of literary excellence derived from a study of our classic writers; to have a general acquaintance with the history of his own country, and with the great laws of social existence; to have acquired the rudiments of the physical and psychological sciences, and a fair knowledge of elementary arithmetic and geometry. He should have obtained an acquaintance with logic rather by example than by precept, while the acquirement of the elements of music and drawing should have been pleasure rather than work. To this end, the University need cover no ground foreign to that occupied by the elementary school. Indeed, it cannot, for the elementary instruction which I have referred to embraces all the kinds of real knowledge and mental activity possible to man.”

The extracts which I have quoted from the reports of various Commissions are, as every one will admit, on all accounts entitled to great weight; but it appeared to me that it would be very interesting to ascertain the views of those practically engaged in the work of education, as to the best distribution of time among the principal branches of knowledge. With this view, I addressed a circular on the subject to the headmasters of our seven great public and endowed schools, taking, as far as I could ascertain them, those with endowments of over £1000 a year. With very few exceptions, they have at once, and most courteously, replied, and their views are embodied in the following table :—

Average distribution recommended for hours of study for boys between 13 and 18, assuming the total number, including preparation and 2 hours on Sunday devoted to religion, to be 38 per week.						
Classics and An. Hist.	Modern Lang. & Hist.	Arith. and Math.	Science	Political Geography.	Relig.	Total
Rev. Dr. Hornby (Eton)	18	6	4	2	2	38
" Scott (Westminster)	20	5½	2½	2½ & hist.	2½	38
" Ridding (Winchester)	16	10	3	—	2	38
" T. W. Jex-Blake (Rugby)	19 & hist.	8	4	1 & geog.	2	38
" Dr. Haig Brown (Charterhouse)	7	8	10	1	2	38
" E. A. Abbott (City of London)	17	8	7	2	2	38
" T. W. Finlison (Upper Modern School, Bedford)	14	8	8	1	3	38
" E. Sanderson (King Edward VI.'s School, Macclesfield)	8	12	4	2	4	38
" H. R. Huckin (Repton)	8	8	8	4	2	38
" H. M. Robinson (Chigwell)	15	7	3	1½	—	35½
" Dr. Caldicott (Bristol Grammar School)	16	7	3	1½	—	34½
" E. Bartrum (King Edward VI.'s School, Berkhamsted)	14	7	4	3	3	39
" T. T. Welldon (Tonbridge School)	15	6	4	3	2	38
" Wm. Bell (Dover College)	14	8	3	2	2	38
" C. M. Roberts (Monmouth School)	18	4	2	2	4	38
" Dr. Stansbury (Oundle Grammar School)	12	9	5	1	3	38
" George Style (Giggleswick School)	21	6	4	2	4	38
" C. G. Wilkinson (Pocklington Grammar School)	10	8	8	1	2	38
" M. Pugh (Rishworth School)	8	9	8	2	2	38
" J. Collins (Grammar School, Newport, Salop)	9	6	4	2	5	38
" W. G. Henderson (Leeds Grammar School)	10	10	2	4	4	38
" H. D. Harper (Sherborne School)	15	8	4	2	3	38
" J. G. Greenwood (Principal of Owens College, Manchester)	18	6	4	—	2	38
" W. Tuckwell (Taunton College School)	12	10	4	2	2	38
Lord Aberdare	8	8	4	2	4	38
Dr. Hooker	18	6	8	2	2	38
Professor Huxley	10	6	6	2	4	38
" Tyndall	10	12	6	2	2	38
" Dr. Allman	9	10	8	2	2	38
" Carpenter	11	6	8	2	2	38
"	12	6	5	3	2	38

As regards the number of hours of work per week, I found that, including preparation, they might be taken at not less than thirty-eight. Several masters, indeed, have informed me that this is too little, but as my object was to obtain their opinion as to the proportion of time to be allotted to the principal subjects, this was not material. At any rate, thirty-eight is not more than the usual number, including two hours of religious instruction, given on Sunday, and leaving thirty-six hours on the week-days.

Education may be divided into three great sections, those of (1) Language and History ; (2) Arithmetic and Mathematics ; (3) Natural Science. For my present purpose, however, it was necessary to separate the classics from modern languages, and I thought it would be clearer to give political geography a separate heading. As regards religion, I was in some difficulty. One very eminent person has suggested that it should not be dealt with like any other subject ; but, on the other hand, if it is to be taught at all, some time must be allotted to it, and if I had omitted it, such a course would certainly have been open to misconception.

I have also asked the opinion of some other gentlemen well qualified to speak on such a subject : for instance, the late president of the Committee of Council on Education, Lord Aberdare, Dr. Hooker, President of the Royal, Dr. Allman, President of the Linnean Society, Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, and Doctor Carpenter, Registrar of the University of London.

As will be seen from the table, the answers show an amount of difference of opinion which I must confess has surprised me very much, and which suggests various

interesting subjects of inquiry. The general result, however, proves that while on the one hand scientific men are very far indeed from wishing to claim an exorbitant share of time for science, or to exclude classics from our system of education, those who are practically engaged in school management are, with very few exceptions, of opinion that much more time and attention ought to be devoted to science and modern languages than is now the case.<sup>1</sup>

I am anxious altogether to disclaim making any attack on those eminent and excellent men who are responsible for the management of our great schools. Some of them are intimate friends of my own ; for many others I entertain a profound respect. Moreover, the moral tone of our great schools and the industry which prevails in them, are most creditable. Few men are harder worked than head-masters, and it would be a great advantage, could they be released from much of the routine work. Again, it is no light or easy matter to introduce new studies, and rearrange school hours ; and however general may be the opinion of enlightened men in support of more attention being devoted to science and modern languages, there is still much prejudice in favour of the old system. Lastly, it must be said with regret that the influence of Oxford and Cambridge at present increases the difficulty. Far from wishing to appear as making any attack on head-masters, my hope is that the public, and especially those who have sons at these

<sup>1</sup> One or two even of those who have only allotted two or three hours to science have observed that this is only intended to apply to existing circumstances, and that if they were commencing *de novo*, they would devote more time to it.

schools, will support the head-masters in the reforms which, as we shall see, they themselves feel to be necessary.

There is one circumstance which has made me specially anxious to call attention to this question at the present time. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have recently appointed a joint Board to undertake the examination of schools. For this, no doubt, the Universities are entitled to the thanks of all those who are interested in education; but when we come to consider the regulations which have been adopted by the Board, I fear we shall find that they are likely to discourage the study of modern languages, and greatly to increase the difficulty of introducing science as a distinct branch of instruction.

The examiners are to award certificates under the following conditions, viz. :—

“The examination for certificates shall include the following subjects :—

GROUP I.

1. Latin.
2. Greek.
3. French and German.

GROUP. II.

1. Mathematics (elementary).
2. Mathematics (advanced).

GROUP III.

1. Scripture knowledge.
2. English.
3. History.

GROUP IV.

1. Natural Philosophy (mechanical division).
2. Natural Philosophy (chemical division).
3. Botany.
4. Physical Geography and Elementary Geology.

“Every candidate shall be required to satisfy the examiners in at least four subjects taken from not less than three different groups. No candidate shall be allowed to offer more than six subjects. French or German may be offered as a separate subject by a candidate who satisfies the examiners in Latin or Greek.

“Every candidate shall be required to answer the questions in such a manner as to satisfy the examiners that he has an adequate knowledge of English grammar and orthography.”

Now, the boys coming from public schools will almost all take as three of the subjects, Latin, Greek, and Arithmetic, while for the fourth a great number will choose either Scripture knowledge, English or History. Moreover, it is observable that the Board has laid down that French and German can only be offered as a subject by those candidates who have satisfied the examiners in Latin or Greek, and also that every candidate will be required to show that he has an adequate knowledge of English grammar and orthography. Again, no candidate is to take up more than six subjects. Now, every schoolmaster will be anxious, for the credit of the school, to obtain as large a proportion of certificates as possible, and, under these circumstances, attention will be concentrated on the four subjects taken in. It seems to me that the result will be to discourage the teaching of French and German, and that the nominal introduction of science is, under such conditions, little more than a hollow mockery.

It will no doubt be said by some that it is better to know four subjects well than to have a smattering of many. This is no doubt true, but no one wishes that boys should have a smattering of any. It is one thing to know a few stray facts of a subject; it is quite a different thing to be well grounded in it. Surely no one

will maintain that four subjects are all that a boy need learn at school. Let us suppose him to take up Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, and Scripture knowledge. I might, of course, take a stronger case, but even in this one, which seems to me not only not improbable, but very likely to be the usual one, boys may obtain University certificates, who know nothing of history, nothing of geography, nothing of any modern language, or of any branch of science.

The secretary of the Board has written to me very courteously, questioning whether the regulations would have the effect which I anticipated. The results, however, fully justify my apprehensions, for by the last report it appears that while 1,061 candidates went in for mathematics, and 1,362 for classics, only 151 took in English, 252 other modern languages, while but 128 offered themselves for examination in any branch of science. With this result before the Board I hope it is not too much to expect that they will modify the scheme.

There is, I believe, a general impression that a fair amount of time is now devoted to science at our public schools. Alas, I believe that the remarks of the Science Commissioners still hold good. The Committee of Head-Masters recently sent round a circular, asking each school, amongst other inquiries, what amount of time was given to Natural Science. With one or two honorable exceptions, the amount is quite infinitesimal: Two hours a week; two hours a week, as alternative with German; one hour a week; even in one instance one hour a fortnight!

No doubt as regards the seven great public schools,



under the statutes made by the late Public School Commissioners, which have the force of law, science is taught throughout the upper parts of the school. The Commissioners, approving and adopting a recommendation contained in the report of the previous Public School Commission, also provided that in school examinations not less than one-tenth of the marks should be allotted to science.

There are, however, no provisions as to the time to be given to science studies, and in most cases it is still quite inadequate, and, indeed, infinitesimal. Surely, however, no education can be considered as otherwise than most unsatisfactory and incomplete which leaves one side of our nature thus entirely neglected. Apart from moral causes, success or failure in life depends as much on observation and on the power of weighing evidence as upon any other quality.

The reasons which have led to the neglect of science in our Public Schools have been discussed at length by the Science Commissioners in their Report on Public Schools. Those generally alleged are, they say: (1) Absence of funds: (2) Uncertainty as to the educational value of Science, particularly in the case of young pupils: (3) The difficulty of finding time for a new study in an already overcrowded curriculum.<sup>1</sup>

Firstly, then, as regards expense. No doubt much money might be profitably laid out in this way, but it is not necessary to do so. Mr. Tuckwell, head-master of Taunton school, who speaks from practical experience,

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 165.

said, in a paper read before the British Association in 1871, that

“It ought to be more widely known for how very small a sum sufficient apparatus can be obtained to teach natural history and experimental science. A laboratory can be fitted up for twenty boys at a cost of little more than £20, while each boy’s private stock of glass and test solutions need not cost more than 8s. per annum. Botanical flowers, trays containing eighteen bottles, may be bought for 2s. 6d., electrometers, telescopes, polariscopes, models of pumps, and pulleys may be made, by a little instruction, by the boys themselves, who will learn in their construction far more of the principles which they involve than could ever be instilled into their minds by the choicest products of the shop.”<sup>1</sup>

This difficulty, at any rate, is therefore surely not of a very serious character.

As regards the second objection, the Science Commission truly observe that—

“The true teaching of science consists, not merely in imparting the facts of science, but in habituating the pupil to observe for himself, to reason for himself what he observes, and to check the conclusions at which he arrives by further observation or experiment. And it may well be doubted whether, in this point of view, any other educational study offers the same advantages for developing and training the mental faculties by means of a great variety of appropriate exercise.”<sup>2</sup>

As regards the age at which it would be desirable to commence teaching science, I shall in the following lecture give strong evidence in support of the belief that it would be difficult to begin too young.

The Committee of Head-Masters of Public Schools have also recently issued a series of questions on educational subjects. One of these was “At what age would you begin to teach Natural Science?”—twenty replies

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

are given ; and I subjoin the answers from those schools which are best qualified to speak from experience ; the others either, as Birmingham, express no decided opinion, or, as Eton, Winchester, Rugby, and King's College, do not admit very young boys.

City of London School. About 10.

Clifton College. (1.) Never too young to be taught to observe natural objects attentively.

Clifton College. (2.) From very earliest age at which they come to school.

Clifton College. (3.) Cannot be taught to observe too early : youngest boys as interested in Botany and Geology as older boys.

Clifton College. (4.) As young as possible.

Giggleswick School. Quite young—from 11 to 12.

Malvern College. At the earliest age they come to school.

Manchester School. At 10 or 11.

Newcastle-under-Lyne School. Between 10 and 11—chiefly facts depending on powers and previous training.

Taunton School. At the lowest age they are admitted to school.

Wellington College. Cannot begin too early to awaken interest, &c.,—Systematic Science cannot be taught to boys as young as 13 or 14.

As regards the third difficulty, namely, that of time, I will again quote from the Science Commissioners. While, they say,

“We cannot deny the reality of this difficulty, it seems to us to offer no justification whatever for the total or almost total exclusion from education of any great branch of human knowledge. The difficulty is one which can only be met by carefully economizing time, by employing the best methods of teaching, and by discarding superfluous subjects of study. To meet it by making education one-sided and incomplete, cannot be for the interest of the pupil. Nor does it appear to us impossible to make a fair adjustment between the claims of the different branches of instruction. The number of hours of study in our Public Schools may be taken at not less than thirty-five per week, including in the estimate the number of hours on an average employed in preparation. Now, if six hours

per week be devoted to Science, and if we suppose six hours also to be given to Mathematics, there would still remain at least twenty-three a week for the study of Language and other subjects.

"We are not prepared to admit that the classical scholarship of the pupil would, by the close of his school career, have suffered in consequence of the subtraction of the twelve hours which we have assigned to mathematics and science : since we believe that the influence of instruction of Natural Science on the development of his intellectual powers might be such as to promote his success in classical learning. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that his education, if confined to one class of subjects, would be an unbalanced one, that his intellectual tastes and powers would have been developed in one direction only, and that so far he would be the worse prepared, whether for the continuance of study, or for the active business of life. We have already expressed the opinion that the student who has given evidence that he possesses a fair amount of both literary and scientific culture, may with advantage be allowed to choose for himself among the main lines of study pursued at an University. But, while he is still at school, and before he can have given such evidence, we do not think that the same liberty of choice ought to be conceded."

It is often urged that in science the very methods of teaching are still under discussion. This, however, is an unavoidable incident of a commencement. It will be remedied by experience, and by experience only. Dr. Arnold truly says that "when scientific physics have as recognised a place in public instruction as Latin and Greek, they will be as well taught." Nay, I hope even better, for I cannot think that our system of teaching classics is by any means perfect. Not that I undervalue classical studies. Far from it. To treat the study of language as we now do that of science, would, in my opinion, be most unfortunate. Language, though it is not education, is no doubt a most important part of it. Nay, it is essential, for not only is Latin interesting from the light which

it throws on our own mother tongue, but, in the opinion of competent authorities, the Latin grammar is an excellent subject for the purposes of education. To abandon the study of classical literature would be a fatal mistake ; and one which men of science will certainly never advocate. But is it the case that the classics have been found to suffer by the introduction of science ? Quite the contrary. The head-master of Wellington tells us that "the good effect on that school is undeniable." Mr. Percival also gives it as the result of his great experience, "that the introduction of science has not in any way interfered with the successful pursuit of old studies." Mr. Wilson, who has had long experience in teaching science at Rugby, in 1866 thus stated his opinion as to the general results of the introduction of scientific teaching :

"The opinion of the body of the masters, in brief, is this : the school, as a whole, is the better for it, and the scholarship is not worse. The number of boys whose industry and attention is not caught by any school study is markedly less ; there is more respect for work and for abilities in the different fields now open to a boy ; and though often pursued with great vigour, and sometimes with great success by boys distinguished in classics, nor are there any symptoms of overwork in the school. This is the testimony of classical masters, by no means specially favourable to science, who are in a position which enable them to judge. To many who would have left Rugby with but little knowledge, and little love of knowledge, to show as the result of two or three years work in our middle school, the introduction of science into our course has been the greatest possible gain ; the others who have left from the upper part of the school, without hope of distinguishing themselves in classics or mathematics have adopted science as their study at the universities. It is believed that no master in Rugby school would wish to give up natural science, and return to the old curriculum."

Lastly, as regards the mode in which science should

be taught. The Science Commissioners quote<sup>1</sup> with general approval, though without committing themselves as to details, the following sketch drawn up by Mr. Wilson (now head-master of Clifton), as illustrating the science teaching which, in the opinion of a school-master of great experience, might be given. The extract is rather long, but I think I need make no apology for quoting it. An orrery and globe, he says—

“A little astronomy, form the natural beginning. Let the boys make the effort involved of realizing the plan of our solar system, and our earth in space with its atmosphere mantling round it; its kinship to the planets, its relations to sun and moon. These, and some of the common phenomena, day and night, summer and winter, eclipses, and the changes of the moon—form the natural and the old well established introduction to science. They are still subjects of surpassing interest to every successive generation. They take boys on all their sides—memory, imagination and reason. They show, as nothing else shows, the connection of cause and consequence. And there is a genuine and deep satisfaction, a real pleasure of the intellect, which boys attain when they first understand the causes of these common great phenomena. They stand henceforward on a higher platform. The universe presents to them not a mere wonderland but a reign of law. These are the *literæ divinæ*, written in the universe by the finger of God.

“Then we pass to the great earth itself, and all its activities; the effects of its still remaining internal heat; its volcanoes and earthquakes, the slow oscillations of level, and the great changes slowly taking place in the familiar outline of the continents and islands, and the proofs still visible of past changes. These things must be well thought out by the class, and illustrated and brought home to them by pictures and specimens. The effect of the attraction of the sun and moon of making tides, and their geological and cosmical action, is a matter that can be to some extent grasped, though so difficult in its complete theory; and is far too important and common a phenomenon to pass without notice. And then come the complicated consequences of solar heat and light. It is with peculiar

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<sup>1</sup> *Sixth Report*, p. 3.

interest and pleasure that a boy learns the causes of winds and currents, of trade winds and cyclones, of evaporation and rain, and its distribution on the earth. There is a sense of power obtained by finding out that these great and familiar phenomena are subject to laws, and are not primary facts. And all these are matters, towards which it is only necessary to guide the thoughts of the boys, and they can, with very little help, think them out for themselves. I find it rarely necessary to give a regular explanation of anything, except as a kind of *résumé* of the suggestions thrown out by the class, and successively criticised. Fresh information as to fact must of course be given, when it is seen to be wanted, and not before. The labours of observers, and mathematicians, and collectors are seen by the class in their true light, as contributing to the store of accurate knowledge in regions more or less inaccessible to themselves.

"The consequences of these activities must then be traced out. And these constitute the principles of Geology. To teach them is not hard ; a large stock of pictures, photographs, etc., will be found very useful. We take the work of rain and rivers ; their solvent and transporting powers, and straightway the ravine and the waterfall, the rich plain, and the whole river valley, with its wondrous system of drainage, are seen to be the consequences of the familiar forces at work all round us. The work of the sea is easily understood, and behold the map of England is looked at with new eyes ; there must be a cause for every bay and headland. The formation of marine deposits, the growth of coral, and Darwin's explanations of the form of coral islands ; the ooze of the Atlantic, the work of frost and snow, the glacier and iceberg, the geographical distribution of plants and animals, all are intelligible, and all, if I may so call it, exciting ; they excite to further reading and a good deal of thought ; they show, moreover, the regions of knowledge ; the necessity of chemistry, and meteorology, and astronomy, and zoology is really felt, without being stated in so many words."

After some further illustrations of his method of teaching Geology, Mr. Wilson continues :—

"It may seem to some that the amount of positive knowledge gained is too little ; and indeed it is not much, not as much as would be gained by half the time spent in learning and being examined on somebody's advanced text-book. But from the one

system the boy emerges hungry for more knowledge, and his own reading will supply his wants; he emerges with a clear understanding how science grows, and what it is, and has a frame-work in which he can fit all knowledge he subsequently acquires; while from the other he comes out—perhaps some of my hearers know how he comes out.

“I know of no single book which contains all these subjects. The teacher, at any rate, must draw his knowledge from many books, and from real personal knowledge of his subject. Methods of teaching are very important, but the teacher is of far more importance; and no teaching of these or any other subject is likely to be worth much unless the teacher is thoroughly master of his work, has made it his own by viewing it in various lights, and is independent of any text book, or any order of viewing nature. He cannot be too discursive in his reading or varied in his attainments; and if he is further able to be prosecuting some original work, however humble, in which his pupils can assist him, they will learn more of the true scientific spirit by contagion than they will gather from the most eloquent lectures.

“It may be urged that this teaching cannot be thorough, that boys will be brought in contact with chemistry, physics, mechanics, mathematics, at an age when they cannot understand them; and the result will be to turn them out capable of talking about a great many things, and knowing theories about a great many things, but without the rigorous training necessary to enable them to judge of these theories.

“This is of course, partly true. But it is no objection. The logical order of ideas is not the educational order. A boy learns to read, and make out the meanings of a story-book before he learns grammar, which might be said to precede logically; he reasons before he can learn logic; and so he has to learn a thousand things by experience and observation and reading and conversation, which form the material out of which science grows. The teaching is thorough so far as it goes, and it is delusive to suppose that the teaching of mechanics or physics can be made exhaustively thorough to a boy. He apprehends only by comparison of one thing with another; and where experiment takes him out of the range of his experience, there his conclusions are not his own, but his teacher's. These subjects, which may be put aside as mere scientific information, have a double value, stimulative and intellectual, that no one



who has not tried them can well estimate. They would plainly be incomplete by themselves; they do not admit, taught in this manner, of the careful study of detail, the minute and painstaking work and drudgery that make every science so valuable as an instrument of education. But these subjects claim to enter into the schemes of literary and scientific education; to form a common ground between them; to be science to the man of literature, and literature to the man of science."

I do not propose here to discuss "bifurcation," or the relative advantages and disadvantages of a "classical" and a so-called "modern side;" but it certainly seems to me that, except in certain cases, as for instance in preparation for the navy, bifurcation should not commence till boys are sixteen or seventeen, at which age they ought to know at least one modern language besides English, and to be well grounded in science. So far from this interfering with classics and arithmetic, I am persuaded that the opinion which I have above quoted will be found correct, and that both would profit by the variety which would thus be introduced.

I now pass to the Universities. That of London demands a certain amount of science from all those who desire to obtain its degrees. Being, however, myself officially connected with that University, I will not further refer to it. Nor, indeed, will I presume to express any individual opinion of my own as regards the requirements of Oxford or Cambridge, but will quote from official documents. Before doing so, however, I may be permitted to acknowledge gratefully how much in many ways these two great Universities have done for science. No doubt almost any branch may be studied with great advantage either at Oxford or Cambridge. Our two ancient Universities have,

moreover, devoted liberal sums to the establishment of museums and laboratories, they have admirable libraries, and most eminent professors. It must, indeed, be admitted that science is deeply indebted to them, and assuredly I have no desire to undervalue what they have done. They treat science, however, rather as a matter of practical utility, or of individual adaptation, than as a branch of education. When the Science Commissioners drew up their report, they found that out of 720 fellowships, only twelve had been given for natural science, though I am informed that subsequently this proportion has been somewhat altered. As regards the system of education, however, the report of the Duke of Devonshire's Commission, issued in 1873, since which time no material change in this respect has taken place, states that, "If we except the requirement at Cambridge of elementary mechanics, nothing is done at any part of the course in either University to exact from all students alike any knowledge, however small, of the elements of the sciences of experiment and observation. Such obligatory subjects of study appear to be viewed with increasing disfavour by the authorities in the Universities." "We feel it," they say in another report, "the more incumbent upon us to insist on the introduction of scientific training as an integral part of school education, because in our third report we have recommended that students at the Universities should, at an early period, if not from the commencement of their academical course, be left free to choose for themselves among the principal lines of study, and should not be hampered by being compelled to pass examinations in subjects having no direct bearing

on their subsequent career. But we made this recommendation conditionally ; that is, upon the understanding that the student should be well grounded in the principal branches of knowledge before his entrance into the University, for while asserting that literary cultivation, up to a certain point, is indispensable for the scientific student, we expressed the opinion that, in like manner, evidence of corresponding scientific culture should be required from the student of classical literature or of theology, and we consider that no one should receive a degree who has not proved himself to be well grounded in science as well as in languages and mathematics." It is obviously difficult for those schools which prepare boys for Oxford and Cambridge, to devote much time to scientific studies, as long as those Universities grant degrees without demanding a knowledge of even the rudiments of science.

I feel particularly anxious on this subject for various reasons. Firstly, there is the direct utility of science ; and here let me quote a passage from Professor Huxley, which is much more forcible than anything which I could say :—

"Suppose," he observes, "that it was perfectly certain that the life and fortune of every one of us would, some day or other, depend on a game of chess. Should we not all think it our duty to teach our children the principles of the game?" "Yet," he continues, "yet it is a very plain and elementary truth, that the life, the fortune, and the happiness of every one of us, and more or less, of those who are dependent upon us, do depend upon our knowing something of the rules of a game infinitely more difficult and complicated than chess. It is a game which has been played for untold ages, every man and woman of us being one of the two players in a game of his or her own. The chess-board is the world the pieces are the phenomena of the universe, the rules of the game

are what we call the laws of nature. The player on the other side is hidden from us. We know that his play is always fair, just, and patient. But, alas, we know, to our cost, that he never overlooks a mistake, or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance. To the man who plays well, the highest stakes are paid, with that sort of overflowing generosity with which the strong shows delight in strength. And one who plays ill is checkmated—without haste, but without remorse. My metaphor will remind some of you of the famous picture in which Retzsch has depicted Satan playing at chess with man for his soul. Substitute for the mocking fiend in that picture, a calm, strong angel, who is playing for love, as we say, and would rather lose than win—and I should accept it as an image of human life.”

How many parents are there who find a difficulty in providing for their sons? The young men themselves are strong and healthy, intelligent and well-conducted, having passed through our best schools with credit and care, and being most anxious to earn an honest livelihood for themselves? Under these circumstances, the father applies perhaps to some friend who is engaged in business, and asks him to find a clerkship for his son. The young man would have no objection to go abroad; but then comes the question, What are his qualifications? There are railways all over the world, owned by English companies, but the young man has not the slightest knowledge of physics, and can speak no foreign language. There are gas companies, mines, and manufactories, but he is totally ignorant of chemistry. There are banks and mercantile establishments, but he probably knows no foreign language, excepting perhaps a few words of French. English companies would naturally prefer to employ Englishmen, but in too many cases they find it impossible, under these circumstances, to do so.

This, therefore, is really a parents' question, and I would urge parents to move in the matter. The present state of things really involves a great national loss: it is a serious misfortune to those who have moderate means and large families. I fear that I shall seem to be always harping on this string. Yet I can truly say that I would not have done so, were I expressing my own opinion only. But when we find Commission after Commission (composed of men selected for their wisdom and experience), after careful and patient inquiry, one after the other, and always with unanimity, pointing to the neglect of science and of modern languages in our educational system as a grave evil, it must surely be worth while to inquire whether these warnings have been taken to heart, these recommendations have been complied with; for our system of education cannot be satisfactory while nature is shut out of the schoolroom, and while we leave our children to grow up so entirely ignorant of the world in which we live.

The Science Commissioners did not, I think, exaggerate the evil, when they stated that in their opinion the almost total exclusion of science, to which I would add the neglect of modern languages, in so many of our schools, is "little less than a national misfortune."

#### IV.

#### ON OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

THE number of children in our Elementary Schools is now more than 3,000,000, and is continuously increasing. I need not, however, occupy a line, or a moment, in dwelling on the importance of securing for the children in our elementary schools the best system of education ; whatever other differences of opinion there may be, on this point at least all will be agreed. But though if we consider only the mere number of children at school, we may fairly congratulate ourselves ; when we come to consider the results, the state of affairs is far less satisfactory. There are not above 30,000 who pass annually the sixth standard, and not thirty per cent. of the whole number of our children are able to pass the very moderate requirements of Government even in reading, writing, and arithmetic. To some extent this is ascribable, I cannot help thinking, to the dry, and “bookish” education given in these schools. Nevertheless, though we have heard a great deal about the statistics of the subject—the number of schools and scholars,<sup>1</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the late Sir J. Kaye Shuttleworth’s interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1876.

difficulties of giving religious instruction in the present divided state of public opinion on theological questions—there has been comparatively little discussion with reference to the nature and character of the secular teaching.

In the code of last year (1876) Lord Sandon introduced several new provisions. These were decided improvements, which I am the more anxious to acknowledge, as it seems to me that on some points the code is still open to criticism. I trust therefore that in dwelling on these I shall not give the impression that I undervalue the improvements which have been recently effected.

I am anxious, however, to bring forward some reasons which make me apprehensive that the present code, though on the whole a decided improvement, will, in some respects, have an unfortunate effect on elementary education.

The revised code of 1861 introduced an improved system of payment by results, which indeed, having regard to the increased amount of Government aid, had become almost a necessity; but it was open to the objection that it recognised proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic only, and thus tended greatly to the discouragement of all other subjects.

No doubt, reading, writing, and arithmetic are very important; forming, indeed, the basis of instruction, but they do not in themselves constitute an education, however humble, any more than a knife and fork make a dinner. Still, if the introduction of other subjects interfered with the acquirement of reading and writing, there would be good reason for deferring them until a

mastery over reading and writing had been acquired. But the very reverse is the case. Thus, Mr. Moseley, in his Report on Dean Dawes's King's Somborne School, remarks that—

“Here, where so many other things are taught besides reading, the children are found in advance, in reading, of other schools, in the majority of which scarcely anything else is taught.”

And he continues—

“And this is always the case, and a fact which seems to point to the expediency, if not the necessity, of teaching children something else besides reading, that we may be able to teach them to read.”

In his opinion—

“The singular slowness with which the children of our National Schools learn to read is, in some degree, to be attributed to the unwise concentration of the labours of the school on that single object.”

Both Dean Dawes and Mr. Moseley expressly attributed the success of the King's Somborne School to the fact that in addition to the usual subjects, the children were instructed in “the simple principles of natural science applicable to things familiar to the children's daily observation.” It had by some been assumed that the great success of that school was due to some extraordinary merit on the part of the masters; but Mr. Moseley expressly stated that he considered their qualifications not to have been above the average, and that the success was due to the system.

We have to thank Mr. Forster for many eminent services to the cause of education; and if some are disposed to complain of him for being too conciliatory to Conservatives, it is only fair to remember that to this very



fact we are perhaps indebted for a better educational measure than might otherwise have been possible. But however this may be, Mr. Forster has the merit of having introduced a system of payment for history, geography, and some other branches of knowledge, the choice of which was left to the school boards or committees, subject to arrangement with the school inspectors. Nevertheless, the maximum grant allowed being 15s. a head, and good schools being able to obtain this without any grant for the so-called extra subjects, it is not surprising that (taking for instance the year 1875) out of the whole number of children in elementary schools, only 62,000 passed in any extra subject.

Lord Sandon has endeavoured to remedy this, but the present code is, it seems to me, open to the grave objection that it regulates too minutely the system of education, thus weakening the school boards and committees, and greatly checking those improvements which experience would suggest, and which, beginning in a few schools, would gradually become general. Thus, by article 19c, it is provided that the classes from which the children are examined in Standards II.—VI. should “pass a creditable examination in grammar, history (political), geography, and plain needlework, or in any two of these subjects.” Now it is obvious that if two subjects are thus made compulsory, all others are practically excluded. In 1875, out of all England and Wales, only 26,474 children passed last year in two subjects, and only 190 in more than two.

Under these circumstances, the list of specific subjects, and the mode in which they are to be taught, become no doubt less important; nevertheless, on both of these

points the code is, I think, open to objection. There are some other minor considerations, but these are the principal questions to which I am anxious to call attention.

It cannot, I think, be denied that by making history, political geography, and grammar, or, to speak more correctly, two of them, compulsory subjects, all others are practically excluded, and the managers of schools deprived of the power of selection which they previously exercised.

Nothing but the most absolute unanimity of opinion amongst those qualified to judge, could justify such a course, which moreover would, under such circumstances, be unnecessary. So far, however, from this being the case, there is still so much difference as to the best system of education, that it is very undesirable to lay down cast-iron rules of this kind, and thus to stereotype a system which, after all, may prove to be by no means the best.

No doubt the great majority of schools would at present select history, geography, or grammar; but some, on the other hand, have hitherto made a different choice. The Committee of Council, indeed, say that "a fair proportion of scholars take up other branches of study." Well then, if they themselves admit that the school boards have acted with judgment, that in their opinion the different subjects have been judiciously chosen, why take away a power which has been so wisely exercised?

I am anxious at the outset to deny that I wish to render the school examinations any more difficult, or to introduce profound subjects, above the comprehension of children. The very reverse is the case; and one of

my main objections to our present system is, that it is above the children in many respects, and that there is no sufficient element of reality in it—it has no connection with their every-day life, or the common objects around them.

One of the so-called specific subjects is domestic economy. This is defined on p. 164 as follows : “ Food and its preparation. Clothing and materials. The dwelling ; warming, cleaning, and ventilation. Rules for health ; the management of sickness. Cottage income, expenditure, and savings.” Surely this is all very sensible and appropriate, but it may only be taken up after history, geography, and grammar, or two of them ; and even then it is restricted to girls. Why should not boys, also, be allowed to learn about food and clothing ? Are not cleanliness and ventilation as necessary for men as for women ? Are boys never ill ? men never improvident ? Surely there might be advantage, and could be no evil, in allowing boys, as well as girls, to be instructed in these humble, yet most important subjects.

Why should so decided a preference be given to grammar ? English grammar, as it is ordinarily taught in elementary schools, seems to me of very doubtful value. Moreover, the power of speaking grammatically is more a matter of practice and tact, than of tuition. I do not wish to undervalue grammar, with reference to language, but would say in the words of George Herbert :—

“ Who cannot dress it well, want wit, not words.”

Savages, indeed, often possess a very complicated grammar, which they use most correctly ; and what we

call the bad grammar of the less well-educated classes, is often a matter not so much of ignorance as of local idiom. Moreover, grammar is not generally interesting to children, and this is a point, the importance of which we are, it seems to me, very far from appreciating.

I confess that I have grave doubts whether it is desirable that any nation should learn its own grammar. Language has gradually been improved by use, but if from time immemorial it had been stereotyped by the influence of Government, it would have remained a far less handy instrument than it has now become.

Mr. Whitney truly observes :—

“It has been the misfortune of the English to pass, during its written period, through the most important crisis of its history, its mixtures with the Norman French, also a written tongue : not only were the discordant orthographic usages of the two thus forced together within the limits of the same language, but a period of both orthoëpic and orthographic confusion was introduced, and the orthographic confusion has been, in great measure, only stereotyped, not remedied, by the usage of later times.”

It is not, however, necessary for my argument that I should prove grammar to be absolutely an unsuitable subject. I only urge that it ought not to be imposed on schools against their will, and to the exclusion of other subjects.

As regards history, again, though it is doubtless one of the most important branches of human knowledge, still, as generally taught with a view to the Government grant, it seems to combine the respective disadvantages of the multiplication table and the Newgate Calendar ; being little better than a list of dates and battles, enlivened by murders and other crimes, with a sprinkling

of entertaining stories, most of which are now no longer regarded as authentic, and which we are taught first to believe and afterwards to disbelieve. We have all heard the proverb, "Happy the nation which has no history." And if this proverb be not equally true of the child who has no history to learn, this at least may be said, that ordinary history is misleading in this respect—that it dwells on periods of war and bloodshed, passing over almost without comment that peaceful progress which brings about the development of nations; for the real condition of a people depends more upon their wisdom in peace than on their success in war.

Let us take the case of Scotch children. The younger and by far the more numerous classes have, under the present code, to study the period from the time of Robert the Bruce to the union of the two crowns. The history of Scotland during this period, as treated in any of the condensed histories, consists mainly of the long and bloody struggle with England, varied by feuds between the great Scotch clans and nobles. Of course wars and battles cannot be omitted; it would be as base and ungrateful, as it would be impossible, to exclude Wallace and Bruce from Scotch history. English children, as well as Scotch, burn with interest as they follow the adventures of Bruce, and thrill at the melancholy end of Wallace. It is only when wars and dates are made almost the sole constituents of history, and when history itself is used to exclude other, not less important branches of education, that some protest seems to be necessary.

I will take, for instance, MacArthur's "History of Scotland," which was specially prepared for the use of

schools, and which is edited by no less eminent an authority than Mr. Freeman. The part in question begins on page 45, where we have the execution of Wallace, "who was hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the barbarous practice which was then coming into use in England."

In the following page (46) we have the murder of Red Comyn by Bruce in the Church of the Grey Friars.

On page 47 the execution of such of the murderers as could be captured.

P. 48.—The struggles of Bruce.

P. 49.—The Harrying of Buchan and the invasion of Scotland by Edward.

P. 50.—The battle of Bannockburn.

P. 51.—Murder in cold blood of the English garrison in Douglas Castle.

P. 52.—Summary of preceding struggles.

P. 53.—Battle of the Chapter of Mitton.

P. 54.—A general description of border raids.

P. 55.—Intense hatred of everything English and alliance with France.

P. 56.—Death of Black Douglas in a skirmish with the Moors.

P. 57.—Edward Balliol's invasion, and battle of Duplin.

P. 58.—Battle of Halidon Hill and that of Neville's Cross.

P. 59.—English inroad known as Burnt Candlemass.

P. 60.—The raid of Otterburn.

P. 61.—Chevy Chase.

P. 62.—Murder of the Wolf of Badenoch and the clan battle near Perth.

P. 63.—Battle of Homildon.

P. 64.—Battle of Harlaw.

P. 65.—Battle of Beaugé, and great slaughter of the Scots at the battle of Verneuil.

P. 66.—Burning of John Reseby and his books on a charge of heresy.

P. 67.—Struggle of James I. and his barons.

P. 68.—Treacherous execution of various Highland chieftains.

P. 69.—Murder of King James.

P. 70.—This is a very curious page. There is neither a battle, an execution, nor a murder mentioned in it.

P. 71.—Execution of the murderers of King James.

P. 72.—Judicial murder of William Douglas and his brother.

P. 73.—Murder of MacLellan and Douglas.

P. 74.—Murder of Douglas and battle of Arkinholm.

P. 75.—Siege and destruction of Roxburgh.

P. 76.—Execution of Alexander, son of the Earl of Arran.

P. 77.—Suspected poisoning of the Earl of Mar by King James.

P. 78.—Slaughter of Cochrane and other favourites of King James.

P. 79.—Battle of Sauchieburn and murder of King James.

P. 80.—English intrigues and Highland feuds.

P. 81.—Revolt of Donald Dhu and storming of Carrickfergus.

P. 82.—Battle of Flodden.

P. 83.—Execution of Lord Home and his brother.

P. 84.—Brawls of the Hamiltons and Douglasses.

P. 85.—Storming at Jedburgh.

P. 86.—Execution of John Armstrong and border troubles.

P. 87.—Execution of Lady Glamis, the Master of Forbes, and James Hamilton; war with England.

P. 88.—Battle of Solway Moss.

P. 89.—Intrigues with Henry VIII. and first English invasion.

P. 90.—Second English invasion under Hertford, who appeared just at harvest time “at the head of a motley host, swelled by half-savage Irish and by foreign hirelings, and repeated the wild work of the year before. The invaders attacked and plundered the religious houses. The ruins of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh, and Coldingham still bear witness to their zeal in carrying out the orders of their master. Towns, manors, churches, and between two and three hundred villages were left in ashes behind them. All this misery was wantonly inflicted without winning for Henry a foot of ground or a single new subject.”

P. 91.—Third English invasion; battle of Pinkie.

P. 92.—Murder of Cardinal Beaton.

And so on. In this case I have purposely chosen a history which, as might naturally be expected from Mr. Freeman, is written with the utmost fairness as between England and Scotland. There are others, however, of a very different character. The following extracts are from a History of the country, by Rev. J. Mackenzie, forming a part of “Nelson’s School Series,” and, as we are told, especially adapted for the young. Speaking



of the state of things in Wallace's time, the reverend gentleman says :—

“Wasted by the ravages of war, the country suffers miserably from famine. The English lord it insolently and cruelly over us, taking by force whatever they want—beating, wounding, and killing if the owners resist.”

Further on :—

“The English governor took a vile revenge. He seized the wife of Wallace, and had her put to death.”

Then :—

“The English laid a horrid trap for the formidable warrior. They pretended to treat about a peace. Wallace, and a number of the Scottish lords who had joined him, were invited to a council at the town of Ayr. Thither they went in all knightly faith and trust. The council was to be held in a large wooden building outside the town. Without the building everything looked fair and honest. Inside a large number of soldiers had been secretly stationed. Ropes with running nooses were attached to the rafters. Sir Reginald Crawford, the uncle of Wallace, was the first to enter the infamous trap.”

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After the capture of Wallace :—

“He was immediately conducted, heavily ironed, to London, where the fierce King waited impatiently for his blood. They put him through a mock trial, and condemned him to die a traitor's death. With his hands chained behind his back, he was dragged on a hurdle to the foot of a high gallows in Smithfield. They hung him up, but cut him down alive. Then they cut out his bowels and burned them before his face. His head was struck off by the hangman's axe, and his body quartered. The head was set on a pole on London Bridge. His right arm was fixed above the bridge at Newcastle; his left was exposed at Berwick; the right limb was sent to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen. Edward had achieved the object which, for fifteen years—ever since the little maid of Norway died—he had pursued with such deep cunning and such merciless

perseverance. Scotland, her freedom crushed, her champion slaughtered, and his body 'hewed as a carcase fit for hounds,' was all his own. Yes ; for six months !"

A little later, describing the state of Scotland during the time of Bruce, he says :—

"Scotland was now in a condition such as might turn even a coward's blood to flame. English soldiers kept every castle and town ; English sheriffs and other officers exercised a tyrannical mastery in every district. So rapacious, haughty, and despicable were they, that men's lives were a misery to them to bear. The wives and daughters of Scotsmen were insulted foully ; and if any man resented it, an occasion was quickly found for his destruction. If any Scotsman possessed a good horse or hound, or anything else that he valued, some Englishman would seize it ; and if the owner resisted, he paid for it with his lands or his life. Many good knights were hanged like felons, on the shallowest pretext or none. The land was full of bitter wrong and shameful scorn."

And speaking of Bruce, he adds :—

"If Providence had not given us that man, Scotland at this day would have been another Ireland."

If our object were to break up the Union, and create a bad feeling between the two countries, such teaching would seem admirably adapted for the purpose.

It may indeed be said that if we impress so carefully on the minds of some Scotch children the bloody struggles which took place between England and Scotland, or rather between the kings and barons of the two countries, on the other we bring before the children, in Standards V. and VI., the great progress made by both since they have been happily united. Unfortunately, however, out of 196,000 children in Scotland who were last year qualified to come up for

examination only 12,000 were presented in these latter Standards. Mr. Moseley, in one of his excellent reports to the Education Department, mentions that he had met with many English children who thought that Scotchmen were black. I fear that under our existing system many Scotch children will be educated into the same view as regards the English.

I do not wish to disguise my own opinion that such teaching as that contained in Mr. Mackenzie's history is positively mischievous ; but I have no desire to overstate my case, and all I need ask is whether such training is undeniably better than any other. No doubt it may be said that these accounts of wars and battles, of treachery and murder, are to a certain extent softened by time and distance. This I fully admit ; but from that very fact they lose much of the power they would otherwise possess in an educational point of view. The air of unreality which pervades our whole system is one of its greatest drawbacks. So far from preparing the children for the great battle of life, our schools seem calculated to carry them into another, a dimmer and a duller world : not indeed a fairy-land by any means, but one crowded by difficult abstractions and vague shadows ; where the mind is wearied by dates and tables ; the conscience seared by crime none the less objectionable because gilded by rank ; and where the imagination has no more energetic stimulant than the dates of rulers who are mere names, and the names of distant countries, to them almost as shadowy as clouds.

If, however, amongst those best qualified to judge, there were a general opinion that history, geography, and grammar are not only the best, but the *only*

suitable subjects, the case would be very different. But this is not so. There are still great differences on the point.

Perhaps there have never been more successful village schools than those of Dean Dawes and Mr. Henslow.

In Mr. Henslow's hands, botany proved a most excellent subject. This would be no sufficient reason for insisting on its general adoption; but it shows how greatly the interest of a subject depends upon the teacher.

Dean Dawes' school was, as already mentioned, the subject of a special report to the Education Department by Mr. Moseley, and to what does Mr. Moseley principally attribute the excellence of the school?

"That feature," he says, "in the King's Somborne school, which constitutes probably its greatest excellence, and to which Mr. Dawes attributes chiefly its influence with the agricultural population around him, is the union of instruction in a few simple principles of natural science, applicable to things familiar to the children's daily observation—with everything else usually taught in a National School."

Dean Dawes himself, in his excellent "Suggestive Hints on Secular Instruction in Schools," dwells most forcibly on the great value of elementary science as a means of education.

"In no way," he says, "can the teachers in our higher class of elementary schools give such a character of usefulness to their instruction, as by qualifying themselves to teach in these subjects; introducing simple and easy experiments, which illustrate the things happening before their eyes every day, and convey convictions with them the moment they are seen and explained. It is a

great mistake to suppose that boys of twelve and thirteen years of age cannot understand elementary knowledge of this kind when brought before them by experiment.”<sup>1</sup>

On the latter point Mr. Dawes’ testimony is very valuable, because we are often told that boys are too young to learn science. This is, I believe, quite a mistake. Mr. Henniker, head master of Rossall School, states it as the result of his experience, that natural science, as a study, “is perhaps the first in development of our powers.” Mr. Tuckwell assures us that,

“As regards the age suitable to commencing scientific studies, I can affirm that I never met a schoolboy too young to derive enjoyment and benefit from them. The faculty of observation is perhaps the earliest faculty developed . . . I can say without hesitation that a boy’s scientific studies may begin from the time when he is first sent to school.”

The late Professor Faraday, in giving evidence on this point before the Schools Inquiry Commission, expressed his opinion strongly in favour of commencing the study of science early. Speaking of his experience at the juvenile lectures at the Royal Institution, he said :

“All I can say is this, that at my juvenile lectures at Christmas times I have never found a child too young to understand intelligently what I told him. They came to me afterwards with questions which proved their capability.”

And (speaking, however, mainly with reference to Public Schools) he adds—

“That the natural knowledge, which has been given to the world in such abundance during the last fifty years, I may say, should remain untouched, and that no sufficient attempt should be made to

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<sup>1</sup> Dawes’ *Suggestive Hints*, 193.

convey it to the young mind growing up and obtaining its first views of these things is to me a matter so strange that I find it difficult to understand."

As regards Mr. Henslow's school, and the botanical instruction so successfully carried on there, Dr. Hooker gave some very interesting evidence before the Public Schools Commission. Lord Clarendon asked him as to Mr. Henslow's method of instruction :—

"Invariably," said Dr. Hooker, "he made it practical. He made it an objective study. The children were taught to know the plants and to pull them to pieces, and to give their proper names to those parts, to indicate the relation of those parts to one another, and to find out the relation of one plant to another by the knowledge thus obtained."

Lord Clarendon continued—

"Those were children, you say, generally from eight to twelve?—Yes, and up to fourteen.

"And they learnt it readily?—Readily and voluntarily, entirely.

"And were interested in it?—Extremely interested in it. They were exceedingly fond of it.

"Do you happen to know whether Professor Henslow thought that the study of botany developed the faculties of the mind, and that it taught these boys to think; and do you know whether he perceived any improvement in their mental faculties from that?—Yes; he used to think it was the most important agent that could be employed, for cultivating their faculties of observation, and for strengthening their reasoning powers.

"He really thought that he had arrived at a practical result?—Undoubtedly, and so did every one who visited the school or the parish.

"These were children of quite the lower class?—The labouring agricultural class.

"So that the intellectual success of this objective study was beyond question?—Beyond question."

Dr. Hooker went on to say that a child might very well begin natural history at eight or nine years old.

Dr. Carpenter was asked—

“Do you think that the mind, ordinarily speaking, is as apt for the exercise of its faculties upon the subject of natural science as upon grammar and mathematical subjects at the early period of life? —I should say more so; that it is more easy to fix a child’s attention upon something which it sees than upon an abstraction.”

Professor Huxley again, in his “Essay on a Scientific Education,” expresses the same opinion.

“One is constantly asked,” he says, “when should the scientific education be commenced? I should say with the dawn of intelligence. As I have already said, a child seeks for information about matters of physical science as soon as it begins to talk. The first teaching it wants is an object-lesson of one sort or another; and as soon as it is fit for systematic instruction of any kind it is fit for a modicum of science.”

The Science Commissioners have also received strong evidence to the same effect from several of our most eminent men of science.

In the year 1868 the House of Commons appointed a committee to consider the present state of scientific instruction in this country. This committee, after taking a great deal of evidence, reported that the opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of elementary science in the National Schools on the Continent are far greater than in this country; and added that the witnesses they examined concurred in considering “that nothing less will suffice here if we are to maintain our position in the van of industrial nations.” They recommended therefore, that elementary instruction “in the phenomena of nature,” should be introduced into our National Schools.

Again, the Royal Commission, so ably presided over by the Duke of Devonshire, have reported that in their opinion instruction in the elements of natural science

should be made an essential part of the course of instruction in elementary schools. Such lessons, they add, should be confined to such facts as can be brought under the direct observation of the children, the principal object being to give them an intelligent idea of the more prominent phenomena by which they are surrounded.

For the present purpose no evidence can, however, be more important than that of the School Inspectors themselves. Now it is evident that they have very great doubts—to say no more—with reference to our present system. As regards grammar, for instance, Mr. Blakiston says, “Grammar, as usually taught, seems to me utterly wearisome and unprofitable.” Mr. Routledge says he does not underrate its importance, but he disputes “its claim to be treated as the most suitable subject for children, with all its intricacies and subtle refinements.” Several other inspectors also express similar views, and so far as I could find, but few of the inspectors expressed themselves distinctly in favour of grammar. So far then from there being any strong and general testimony in favour of grammar, the evidence is rather the other way.

Passing on to history, Mr. Cornish gives as the result of his experience, that this subject has been taught “with very unsatisfactory results;” Mr. Pickard reports that it is taught in many of the schools under his inspection, “but not with good results;” Mr. Routledge, as the result of his experience tells us that—

“As to the usefulness of teaching detached periods of history, where time is so short, I have my doubts. Scarcely any child remains at school long enough to get more than a very vague



notion of history, and it is such a wide and varied subject that a 'century' without any notice of preceding and succeeding events is not very profitable."

Mr. Danby regrets "the entire absence of any attempt to teach the smallest rudiments of experimental science." Mr. Legard considers that "one of the weakest points about our English elementary education is its unscientific character." It would be easy to multiply such quotations, I will only refer to one more. Mr. Arnold expresses himself as follows:—

"I should like to see what the Germans call 'natur-kunde,'—knowledge of the facts and laws of nature—added as a class-subject to grammar, geography, and English history. I would require the teaching of all four as class-subjects in every elementary school to all scholars above the third standard, girls as well as boys. For the second and third standards I would have grammar as at present, and, in addition to grammar, the element of 'natur-kunde.'"

What should be the objects of an education? The late Prince Consort, in one of his admirable addresses, said that in education our aim should be to teach—1. The physical laws on which health depends; 2. The moral laws on which happiness depends; 3. The intellectual laws on which knowledge depends; 4. The social and political laws on which national prosperity depends; 5. The economic laws on which wealth depends. Which of these objects is, I will not say attained, but even aimed at, by our present system? We seem to be entering on a phase of history in which it will be of vital importance to us that our people should possess some knowledge of political economy. I will not, however, occupy the House by repeating on this point the arguments and quotations which I brought forward last year; I will only quote one sentence from the committee

appointed in 1870 by the Social Science Association to report on the relations between science and labour. That committee presented to the right hon. gentleman the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education a report, in which they stated their

“Strong conviction that the hostility between labour and capital, arising from an erroneous belief that the interests of work-people and their employers, and of tenants and landlords, are opposed to each other—a belief leading, in manufactures, to attempts to impose harassing restrictions regarding rates of wages, hours of labour, piece-work, number of apprentices, and the use of machinery; and, in agriculture, to attempts to dictate the amount of rent to be exacted and the selection of tenants, and leading, in its further stages, to strikes, lock-outs, rattennings, and threats of personal violence, and ultimately, in many cases, to murder itself—might have been mitigated, and in great measure prevented, had the people of this country in their youth and before the mind could be warped, been instructed in the elements of economic science. And on this and on other grounds they respectfully urge that no more time be lost in taking measures for gradually introducing this knowledge as a regular branch of education into all schools to which the State gives pecuniary aid. That the practicability of communicating such knowledge to the minds of even very young persons, and of making it both interesting and attractive, has been demonstrated on such a scale as to place the matter beyond doubt.”

Moreover it is remarkable, as showing how much different departments of Government differ even amongst themselves with reference to the choice of subjects, that the Scotch and Irish systems differ greatly from that imposed on England. On all hands it is, I believe, admitted that the Board of Commissioners in Ireland have exercised great wisdom and judgment in the scheme of education which they have introduced into the National Schools of the sister island. Now one of their subjects is agriculture, for which they have issued

an excellent little manual. The children receive simple explanations of the different kinds of soil—clays, sands, &c.; of the advantages of drainage and manure; of the implements and machines used in agriculture; of the principal crops, and the rotation of crops; and the kinds of cattle and stock. Surely this is a very suitable and practical subject for country schools? and would, I cannot help thinking, be more interesting and important to children than some of our English subjects.

Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that out of fourteen specific subjects which are included in the Scotch code, no less than five, or more than one-third, are excluded from that of England.

But even if the system adopted by Government were absolutely the best, who will maintain that the system which is best for most schools is necessarily best for all? Surely differences of locality, of district, of situation, are sufficient to negative this view. The Government admit this in principle, because in Northumberland they do not propose that the subjects should be the same as in Roxburghshire. But the differences between England and Scotland are not the only ones!

Very much must depend on the schoolmaster. One master may have special gifts in, or knowledge of, some particular subject, which it would be most desirable to utilize.

Again, it is, if I may not say probable, at least possible, that in towns where there are special industries or manufactures, the children in the upper standards might with advantage receive some instruction which would lead up to the occupations of their after-life.

Of course we can never expect that the children in

elementary schools can be made profound men of science, but on the other hand it is no less true that they do not become eminent grammarians or historians. No doubt, however, among the 3,000,000 children at present in our schools, there are a certain number, who, though they may not be able, like Stephenson and Faraday, Newcomen and Watt, to triumph over all obstacles, yet if they had a first start, would make observations and discoveries of real importance to mankind.

But even if history, grammar, and geography be the best subjects, why should they absorb the whole of the time? The classes affected by the provision are five in number, that is to say, they cover five years of school life, and even admitting that the favoured subjects should come first, ought not other subjects to come somewhere?

“It has been constantly urged in the House of Commons that scientific subjects are too difficult for children, as if transitive and intransitive verbs, and verbs of complete or incomplete predication, were more attractive or easy of comprehension to children than elementary explanations of the simpler phenomena of nature, such as those to which I have just referred. Suddenly, indeed, the authorities have discovered their mistake, and this year new conditions and limitations have in the Scotch code been attached to the teaching of science subjects, not because they are too difficult, but on the express ground that they are learnt by the children too easily and quickly.”

This change of front seems to be founded on the report of the Board of Education for Scotland. Hitherto science has been discouraged on the ground that it was too difficult. In Scotland, nevertheless, it has proved so interesting to the children that it began to force its way into the schools. The Board at once take alarm. Schoolmasters, they say, now show a tendency “to form

classes in the lighter and more superficial, and to neglect the more solid and educative subjects ;” they lament the present tendency “to depress the more difficult and solid subjects of learning while augmenting the number of pupils who are returned as studying the comparatively light and easy subject of physical geography as prescribed in the fourth schedule.” I may indeed observe that in the whole of Scotland only 6,355 children came up for examination in physical geography, and, indeed, less than 10,000 in all the branches of science put together, so that the evil does not seem very formidable ; and yet it is considered necessary to check the development of scientific classes by new, minute, and vexatious regulations. Thus having been hitherto told that science was too abstruse, now that this allegation has become untenable, it is stigmatised as “light, easy, and superficial” in contrast with the “more solid and educative subjects.” I have quoted the numbers as regards Scotland, and, in concluding this part of my subject, I will only say that out of 3,000,000 children who were last year on the books of our schools in England and Wales, only 30,000 passed in any branch of physical science. It is obvious, therefore, that, rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, science does, as a fact, form no portion of the system of education in our national schools.

It is, however, doubtless true that it is very undesirable to make continual alterations in the code. Lord Sandon urges that for some time, at least, it ought to be allowed to remain in its present state. I quite admit the force of the argument, but deny that it applies to the present case. If the imposition of any new

restrictions or any fresh conditions were suggested, there would be much weight in the objection, but in this case we only wish to restore a power which the local authorities possessed until last year, and which they are admitted to have exercised with sound discretion. Those managers who do not notice the change would not be affected by it, so that it cannot by any possibility lead to inconvenience or confusion.

The second objection is that the pupils in the training colleges are already sufficiently, if not too heavily taxed. I refer to this because it was urged against me in the House of Commons; but it is merely necessary for me to point out that the alterations in the code which I suggest would really require no alteration whatever in the curriculum of the training colleges, nor put any additional strain on the teachers.

It is unnecessary for me to enlarge on the other points to which I have referred. The arguments which apply to the first apply also to the others, and I have, in fact, already been compelled to allude to them incidentally. Why should not the local authorities, acting, as they have done, and would no doubt continue to do, in consultation with her Majesty's inspectors of schools, be permitted to select, in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, such other subjects as they may deem best? Why should a subject be compulsory in one part of the United Kingdom and excluded in another? Why should agriculture, for instance, be compulsory in Ireland and forbidden in England? And why should the subjects comprised under the head of Domestic Economy be restricted to girls?

Then as regards the system of teaching, surely more

latitude might well be left to school committees. Take, for instance, the case of botany. The following are the rules laid down by the Department :—

“ 1st year.—Characters of the root, stem, leaves, and parts of the flower, illustrated by specimens of common flowering plants.

“ 2nd year.—Structure of wood, bark, and pith. Cells and vessels. Food of plants, and manner in which a plant grows. Functions of the root, leaves, and different parts of the flower.

“ 3rd year.—The comparison of a germ and a moss with a flowering plant. The formation of different kinds of fruits. The structure of a bean, and of a grain of wheat or barley. The phenomena of germination.”

One inconvenience is that it is impossible under these rules to have a single class for a subject, so that if, for instance, elementary mechanics are taken up, there must be a separate class for the children of each year. In small schools this is most inconvenient, and even in large ones it would compel the master to move a backward child into a more advanced class whether fit for it or not.

It will be observed that this system differs considerably from that recommended by Dr. Hooker. Still I would not so much criticize the actual proposals, as deprecate the institution of fixed rules on such points.

There is, in conclusion, one other argument which I am anxious to bring forward. Every one will certainly admit that centralization is in itself objectionable. Perhaps, however, this is peculiarly the case in matters relating to education. It is most desirable that we should induce the very best men and women to serve on school boards ; but in order to secure them, we must not interfere with them more than can possibly be avoided.

We must leave them a real interest and responsibility ; but if all control over the system of education pursued in the school is practically taken out of their hands, we certainly diminish very considerably the interest they would otherwise feel, and thereby tend greatly to impair the efficiency of our schools. A late Minister of Education in France is said to have boasted that when he looked at his watch he could tell what every child in an elementary school was doing at that moment ; but surely such centralization is quite contrary to the traditions of our Government, and the convictions of Englishmen.

However this may be, every one knows that there are the greatest differences of opinion as to the best system of education. To many it seems that our present methods rely too much on memory and too little on thought ; that they make too much use of books, too little of things ; that they sacrifice education to instruction ; that they confuse book-learning with real knowledge ; that instead of training the mind to act with freedom and judgment, they choke the machinery of the brain with a dry dust of facts, which at best are but committed to memory, instead of becoming a part and parcel of the child.

This is peculiarly the case with the children in our national schools. There, at any rate, our main object should be to train, rather than to teach the child. Suppose a boy leaves one of our village schools at twelve or thirteen. He may know the date of the birth, accession, and death of every one of our Sovereigns from the time of William the Conqueror, he may be able to parse any sentence, he may be invincible at a



spelling-bee ; but if you have given him no intellectual tastes, your school has to him been all but useless.

There are, however, as I have attempted to show, very different opinions as to how these tastes may best be cultivated and utilized, and under these circumstances it is surely most undesirable to impose one stereotyped system on the whole country. If, on the other hand, (with the improved system of payment introduced by Lord Sandon), the power which they hitherto possessed were restored to the school boards and committees, they would be able in certain cases to adapt their schools, or some of them, to local specialities ; they would be in a position to avail themselves of any peculiar power on the part of the schoolmaster ; and we should gradually ascertain what system does on the whole most tend to develop the moral character and intellectual powers of the children.

Once more let me repeat, that I do not wish to make the instruction given in elementary schools more difficult or more abstruse ; quite the contrary—my desire is that it should be more practical, more real, and more lifelike.

At present, the education given in our elementary schools is practically limited to the rudiments of arithmetic, outlines of states and names of towns, to grammatical rules, and that series of crimes and accidents, which is misnamed history. We should surely endeavour to give children some information with reference to the beautiful world in which we live, the commoner animals and plants of our woods and fields, some explanations as to the ordinary phenomena of nature, the causes of summer and winter, of the phases

of the moon, the nature of the sun and stars, the properties of air and water, the character of soils, some elementary knowledge of light and heat, of the rudiments of mechanics, &c.

Such information—elementary, but not superficial—would be intensely interesting to children, would make them think, and would be a valuable addition to the abstract rules of arithmetic, and to the book-learning which now reigns supreme.

I hope I shall not be thought pertinacious in urging these views, but I have done so under the conviction that, without undervaluing our present system of inspection and examination, the real mode of making our elementary schools most conducive to the good of the country, is to make them most interesting to the children.

Our great danger in education is, as it seems to me, the worship of book-learning—the confusion of instruction and education. We strain the memory, instead of cultivating the mind. The children are wearied by the mechanical act of writing, and the interminable intricacies of spelling; they are oppressed by columns of dates; by lists of kings and places, which convey no definite idea to their minds, and have no near relation to their daily wants and occupations. We ought to follow exactly the opposite course, and endeavour to cultivate their tastes, rather than to fill their minds with dry facts. The important thing is not so much that every child should be taught, as that every child should have the opportunity of teaching itself. What does it matter if a child of twelve knows a little more or a little less? A boy who leaves school at fourteen, knowing much, but hating his lessons, would at twenty

have forgotten almost all he ever learnt ; while another, who at fourteen had learnt little, but had acquired a thirst for knowledge, would by the time he was twenty have taught himself more than the other ever knew. Children are by nature eager for information. They are always putting questions. This ought to be encouraged. In fact, we may to a great extent trust to their instincts, and in that case they will do much to educate themselves. Too often, however, the acquirement of knowledge is placed before them in a form so irksome and fatiguing, that all desire for information is choked, or even crushed out ; so that our schools, in fact, become places for the discouragement of learning, and thus produce the very opposite effect from that at which we aim. In short, children should be trained to observe and to think, for in that way there would be opened out to them a source of the purest enjoyment and occupation for leisure hours : to use an old phrase, we should thus make the man the better workman, and the workman the better man.

Under the present system, our schools will, I fear, become more and more places of mere instruction ; instead of developing intellectual tastes, they will make all mental effort irksome. This question has now become one of the very greatest importance. We have, or soon shall have, the control of the vast majority of children up to the age of twelve, and we ought in that time not only to teach them to read, but to enjoy what they read. We should educate them so that every country walk may be a pleasure ; that the discoveries of science may be a living interest ; that our national history and poetry may be sources of legitimate pride

and rational enjoyment; in short, our schools, if they are to be worthy of the name—if they are in any measure to fulfil their high function, must be something more than mere places of dry study; must train the children educated in them, so that they may be able to appreciate and enjoy those intellectual gifts which might be, and ought to be, a source of interest and of happiness, alike to the high and to the low, to the rich and to the poor.

We have now a great responsibility. Do not let us content ourselves with school-buildings; education is not a matter of forms and registers, of nouns and verbs and dates. We must not only bring our children to the school, but induce them to drink out of the cup of knowledge. I say induce—not make, for education is of little use if the children do not love it: they may learn their lessons ever so thoroughly—they may know their grammar by heart, and all the dates and crimes in history—but if they hate their lessons all the while, you will have done them more harm than good. What Ruskin says of Ornament applies equally—perhaps more—to Education. The right question to ask is simply this: “Was it done with enjoyment?”—was the child “happy while he was about it?”

Let us use our present opportunity with wisdom, and our children will indeed have cause to bless us. For not great things make men happy, but peace of mind and congenial occupations. In the words of the same eloquent writer—

“To watch the corn grow, and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over ploughshare; to read, to think, to love, to pray—these are the things which make men happy.”

Unfortunately, under our system of education, the acquirement of knowledge becomes an effort, rather than a pleasure. I have been good-naturedly criticized, both in the House of Commons and out of it, as an enthusiast on this subject; but every one who loves children must know how eager they are for information, how they long to understand the facts of nature, how every bird and beast and flower is a wonder and a delight to them.

Hitherto I have treated the subject mainly from an utilitarian point of view, and with reference to what studies would be most effective in developing the faculties and intellect of children. I cannot conclude without a very brief reference to another side of the question. It is impossible to remove the vast difference in wealth and luxury which has existed in all civilized nations between different classes of the community. But the truest happiness and the most real pleasures are, or might be, within the reach of all.

Books cost little, and nature is free to all. Gibbon is said to have declared that he would not exchange the love of reading for all the treasures of India; Mr. Trevelyan, in his charming *Life of Macaulay*, tells us, as is indeed evident enough, that it was "a main element of happiness in one of the happiest lives which it has ever fallen to the lot of a biographer to record." Others, again, prefer the book of Nature, to those of Man.

Under a wiser system of elementary education the dreary existence of mechanics in towns might be brightened; the agricultural labourer might have opened

to him a new world of interest in his daily pursuits ; and thus lives, monotonous with daily toil, and in the want of interest and variety too often brutalized by coarse indulgence or cruel amusements, might feel the refining influence of beauty, and the still more elevating power of truth.

## V.

### *ON THE INCOME TAX.*<sup>1</sup>

THERE are, no doubt, great objections to the Income Tax; it is said to be inquisitorial, unequal, and very liable to evasion. No wonder, therefore, that it is unpopular. These are important drawbacks, and seem to me powerful arguments against the total abolition of indirect taxation, which has been advocated by some economists. It may be said therefore that I only support the Income Tax, to use Voltaire's expression, as the cord supports the criminal, and indeed I think it can be defended, only as long as it is kept within narrow limits, in which case it has the advantage of tending to counteract the inequalities of other taxes.

Personally, I should of course be glad to see the Income Tax abolished, because it is of all taxes the one which falls most heavily on those engaged in business; but I cannot think that such a course would be wise or just.

There is no tax against which grave accusations cannot be brought, and before we abolish the Income Tax we ought to satisfy ourselves that we can replace it by a better.

<sup>1</sup> This is the substance of a speech delivered in the House of Commons, July 3, 1874.

We are told that the Income Tax is unjust, for two principal reasons; firstly, because it falls equally on temporary and permanent incomes; and secondly, because the same rate is imposed on income derived from individual exertion as on that from real property. But the first objection holds good only as long as the tax is temporary, and does not apply to it if permanent. As regards the second objection—namely, that the Income Tax falls more heavily upon professional and mercantile incomes than on wages or on real property, that in itself is no doubt unfair. But on the other hand, if other taxes fall especially on consumers, and our rates on real property, the very inequality in the Income Tax may be an advantage, as tending to counteract corresponding inequalities in other taxes. No tax indeed is just in itself, and in its primary incidence; our whole system is based on compensating inequalities.

Thus, the burden of our local taxation falls mainly on real property. Now, in the last Parliament, Sir Massey Lopes brought forward, and carried by a large majority, a motion in favour of relieving the rates, and consequently real property, from a portion of the burdens which then fell upon them. Those proposals have been partially acted on by the present Government, and accepted by the majority of the House. But those who approve this course cannot consistently support a proposition for the simple abolition of the Income Tax; which is mainly attacked on the very ground that it presses most severely on that description of property which cannot be reached by rates.

Professor Leone Levi, in a recent letter to Mr. Bass,



has estimated the percentage of taxation as 12 per cent. in the richer classes, as against  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the poorer; but whether this be so or no, it seems to me that it would be unjust to repeal a tax which falls on the rich, while leaving untouched others, which, like the duties on tea and coffee, press more heavily on the poor. The attacks on the Income Tax derive their principal strength from the fact that, under the present system, incomes derived from trades and professions pay the same nominal rate as those from lands and houses. At the same time, in considering the incidence of the Income Tax, we must look beyond the tax itself, and consider the part which it bears in the general revenue of the country. The very inequality of the tax may constitute an advantage rather than a drawback. Nor must we overlook the fact that taxes do not necessarily, except in the first instance, fall on those who pay them; that the incidence of taxation is really regulated, not by Acts of Parliament, but by the laws of political economy.

Before, however, entering on these considerations, I should like to point out that there are some compensating provisions in the law as it now stands, to which due weight must be given.

It must be remembered that in the case of professional and industrial incomes, while the amount is taken on an average of three years, it is liable to reduction if the actual profit falls short of this estimate. This is a great advantage. Mr. Pressly, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, put in evidence during the inquiry of 1861, a paper showing the great importance of this provision, which even in a business of a not very

fluctuating character, has been considered equivalent to a reduction of 30 per cent. Moreover, while any deduction must be general throughout Schedule D, and applied alike to the safest and steadiest, as to the most uncertain, incomes; 'this privilege, on the contrary, varies in importance with the uncertainty of the income; a quality which is certainly no slight recommendation.

Now the case of land and houses is the very reverse. Here the tax is charged on the gross income, without any deduction, on account of the outgoings for repairs, insurance, &c., which are estimated by the best authorities at 10 per cent. for land,<sup>1</sup> and from 15 to 25 per cent. for houses;<sup>2</sup> taking Schedule A all round, they cannot be estimated at less than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Thus, under the existing system, lands and houses pay not only on the full net income, but on  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in addition, while industrial incomes have a privilege, equivalent in some cases to a deduction of 30 or even, it may be, 40 per cent.

Coming now to the consideration of the various proposals which have been made in order to render the incidence of the tax more equal, we may divide those who have suggested modifications into two sections; some propose merely to deal with classes of Income Tax payers; others go further, and attempt to adjust the incidence of the tax as regards individuals.

In illustration of the former category we may take the proposals made to the House of Commons by Mr. Hubbard in 1861.

Mr. Hubbard advocates a number of allowances; for

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Com. on Income Tax*, 1861, pp. 190-233.

<sup>2</sup> 1. c. pp. 190-233.

instance ;  $8\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. from land, 15 per cent. from houses, 33 per cent. from industrial incomes, 20 per cent. from metals, 10 per cent. from earthy minerals, &c. Yet even these numerous and varied adjustments would not meet the abstract justice of the case. Take, for instance, that of houses ; 15 per cent. may be a fair allowance for repairs, insurance, &c., on houses as a class ; but in parts of the country where building materials are of great durability the repairs may amount to no more than 5 per cent.,<sup>1</sup> while in others they reach to 20 per cent. It is no consolation to the house-owner who has an allowance of 15 per cent. for outgoings which amount to 20 per cent. that another house-owner, whose repairs are only 5 per cent., has the same allowance of 15 per cent. Moreover, so far as the above mentioned suggestions are concerned, they leave untouched the great differences between different life tenancies, especially those arising from age. Even in Schedule D, there are the greatest differences between different industrial incomes. Dr. Farr indeed says that he should not make any "allowance in large concerns, such as the great breweries, any more than I would with the Bank of England, because I should regard the businesses with a large goodwill as nearly equivalent to houses or perpetuities." But who is to say when large breweries end, and small ones begin ? How can you tax one bank, and not another ? Every one knows perfectly well that some kinds of business are much safer than others, and that this is the case even in the same trade ; yet to apply this practically would be utterly impossible.

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, 1861, p. 67.

Any system involving a general remission to all incomes derived from trades and professions would grant the same boon to the sleeping-partner in a great firm, as to a hard-worked country doctor, whose income is dependent on his health, and must, therefore, be more or less precarious. And yet no mode of dealing with the Income Tax, which leaves these inequalities uncompensated, can be defended on the ground of abstract justice. The truth is, that the inequalities within each class are as great as those between the different classes. No changes, therefore, which merely deal with the relative rates of tax, or of allowances, can render the Income Tax equal in its incidence or just in itself. Moreover, if we consider the actual change which would be produced by Mr. Hubbard's suggestions as regards the incidence of the tax on Schedule D, it will be found to be very small.

Take, for instance, the case of incomes derived from houses, as compared with professions. Of course, if the amount derived from the Income Tax as a whole is to remain the same, the effect of the change must be measured, not by the absolute, but by the relative reduction. As between houses and professions, the proposed allowances are 15 per cent. in the first case, and 33 per cent. in the second. The difference, therefore, is 18 per cent. Now on an income of £500 a year, at the present rate of tax, an allowance of 18 per cent. would make a difference of £1 10s., but there is already a difference of 15 per cent., equal to £1 5s., so that the real charge on an income of £500, as between houses and professions, would only amount to 5s., or £5 on an income of £10,000 a year.

I now pass from those who would deal with the different schedules to those who propose to consider the Income Tax payers as individuals. To do this effectively would require the most inquisitorial proceedings: it would be very expensive; a host of commissioners must be appointed, armed with full powers to inquire into every man's circumstances; his age, health, &c., &c. Moreover, we are met at once by the fundamental consideration, that any such course involves practically, not the amendment, but the abandonment, of the Income Tax. Mr. John Stuart Mill, for instance, would exempt savings. He says,<sup>1</sup> "I would tax the income; what I would exempt would be the investment itself. I would not tax the investment and then the income derived from it; in fact, I would make the tax a tax upon expenditure, and not upon income." Here we have the plain admission that this is no question of amending the Income Tax, but of replacing it by one on Expenditure; as to which I will only remark in passing that, while in principle there is much to be said in favour of encouraging economy, it must be remembered that already a great portion of our present taxation—the Customs and Excise duties, as well as the assessed taxes—are taxes on expenditure; and one recommendation of the Income Tax is that it introduces variety into our system. Moreover, Mr. Mill himself admitted,<sup>2</sup> in answer to a question from Sir C. Wood, that it is impossible practically to exempt actual savings; all you can do is to make an allowance for what you consider that people ought to save—unfortunately a very different thing.

<sup>1</sup> 1852, *Second Report*, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1861, p. 220.

On the other hand, Dr. Farr, Mr. Jellicoe, Mr. Hardy, and, in fact, most of the actuaries examined in 1852 and 1861, proposed to capitalise the value of the income and then charge a certain proportion of the value thus obtained. Thus Dr. Farr was asked,<sup>1</sup> "I understand you to say that you would capitalise the income derived from variable property, according to their values at the day, and you would tax them in proportion." To which he replied, "Yes ; so much per £1,000 on the value of the property or of the income." This, then, is virtually a proposal to do away with the Income Tax, and replace it by a Property Tax.

In the first place, this would not really give us a fair result. It takes age into consideration, no doubt, but the real value of one life at thirty is very different from that of another at the same age ; and various industrial incomes must necessarily be classed together, some of which are really much more precarious and less valuable than others. It is, however, urged by those who support this system that, if not theoretically perfect, it is at least an approximation to a just system. Unfortunately it has, I think, been shown that, in the first place, it is impracticable, and, in the second place, that it would aggravate the very inequalities complained of. As regards the practical difficulty, the chief officers of the Inland Revenue in 1852 expressed a strong conviction "that its administration would be attended with insurmountable difficulties."<sup>2</sup>

For instance, Dr. Farr<sup>3</sup> gave an illustration of the process by which the amount due from traders would be

<sup>1</sup> 1852, *Second Report*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1861, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> 1852, *Second Report*, p. 238.

ascertained. Firstly, he would deduct from the profits 5 per cent. interest on the capital employed ; secondly, he would multiply the remainder by the "year's purchase" of a life annuity taken at the age of the person and at the 5 per cent. rate ; thirdly, he would add the invested capital to the capitalised income ; fourthly, he would deduct a sixth part for risk, and leave £500 capital un-assessed ; fifthly, he would divide the remainder by 1,000, and thus obtain the amount of tax due. Surely it is obvious that so complicated a system as this could never be practically brought into operation. No wonder the Inland Revenue officials expressed their conviction that under such a system it would be impossible to obtain returns.<sup>1</sup>

Again, take the Income Tax on stocks and shares ; at present the calculation is simple ; but under a property tax, as regards all amounts held by trustees, the Bank of England and other companies would require to know the conditions of the trust, and the age of the person really interested.

In America, the New York Legislature recently appointed a commission, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Wells, to report on the assessment and collection of taxes in New York. After giving strong evidence to show how extensively the tax on personal property is evaded, the Commissioners say, that, in consequence,

"All the leading civilised and commercial nations on the face of the globe (and the Commission think they are warranted in making the assertion broader, and in saying every nation, civilised or uncivilised), with the single exception of the United States, have abandoned all attempts to levy a direct tax on personal property in

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<sup>1</sup> 1852, Part II. p. 246.

the possession of individuals, as something entirely beyond the reach of any power of constitutional law, or indeed of any power save that possibly of an absolute despotism, to effect, with any degree of perfectness or equality; while the opinion of the civilised world generally is further agreed that all attempts to practically enforce laws of this character are alike prejudicial to the morals and material development of a State."

Indeed, the more it is attempted to secure completeness of assessment by declarations and oaths, the more injurious does the system become; so that in the concluding part of his report, Mr. Wells does not hesitate to say that—

"Every individual holding public office in the United States knows that oaths, as a guarantee of truth in respect to official statements, have ceased to be of any value." <sup>1</sup>

Nothing, surely, but the utmost necessity could justify the introduction into this country of a system leading to such results.

Mr. Wells gives a curious proof of the extent to which the law is evaded in Massachusetts, derived from the prices of securities on the Boston Stock Exchange. At the time he wrote, United States Bonds, which are free from all taxation, could be bought to pay about 5 per cent., while other local securities, such, for instance, as Boston 6 per cent. Bonds, ranged at prices which, assuming the tax to be honestly paid, would only return the holder 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; showing clearly that the tax is systematically evaded.

But supposing that such a system could be carried out, surely it would, under existing circumstances, have an effect very different from that contemplated by its

<sup>1</sup> l. c. p. 48.



supporters. Those who advocate the change generally do so on the ground that industrial incomes are charged too heavily in proportion to those derived from land. But it must be remembered that an immense amount of such property is in settlement or under entail. The proportion is, I believe, estimated by some high authorities, for instance, by the late member for Hereford, Mr. Wren Hoskyns, at from two-thirds to three-quarters.

Under the system proposed, all such property, instead of paying on the income as it does now, would be taxed only on the life interest, and would therefore pay less than at present; besides which I may remark in passing that such an arrangement would give a stimulus to entails, which is in itself far from desirable.

It is, moreover, generally large estates which are settled: this plan, therefore, would encourage entails, and discourage small investments in land.

Again if any such changes are made, it will be impossible to continue to levy the tax, as at present upon holders of the public funds. As a matter of public faith and national engagements, they must be placed in the most favourable position, and must be permitted the full advantage of any reductions or remissions. In fact, while the attacks on the Income Tax arise mainly from an idea that landowners and stockholders pay too little in proportion to industrial incomes, if you value at all, you must value life interests in land, and if you exempt at all, you must exempt fund holders.

It seems to me then that the changes proposed would have a very different effect from that contemplated by those who advocate them; and I have endeavoured to

show that even in the tax as it now stands there are certain compensating adjustments, the importance of which has not been appreciated.

I have not hitherto alluded to the case of mines, of shipping, or of annuities, nor is it in the present instance proposed to deal with them. I must admit that as regards them, the present mode of levying the tax is far from satisfactory. As a matter of fact, however, I do not think that either before the committee of 1852 or that of 1861, any mode was pointed out by which this could be remedied. To take the capitalised value of an annuity, and calculate the interest payable on the amount, say at 4 per cent., would render the tax more fair in some cases, but on the other hand still more unequal in others. If you apply this mode of calculation to long annuities, justice will require you to do the same with life interests. But if you allow for life interests at all, I do not see how you can exclude life interests in land from the benefit of the remission; while on the other hand, if you admit them, you at once place a large proportion of the land, and especially that held by the wealthiest families, in a much more favourable position than at present.

It has indeed been suggested that life interests in land should be treated differently from other life interests. Such a proposal is, I think, difficult to defend seriously; and even if adopted, would not abolish inequalities. Suppose, for instance a man wishes to provide for two daughters, and buys for the one an annuity from Government of £1000 a year, charging his estate with a similar sum in favour of the other; the first would obtain the remission, while the second would pay

on the whole amount. Surely a system involving such anomalies cannot be upheld on ethical grounds.

It must also be remembered, that any such system would greatly diminish the amount receivable under Schedule A (lands and houses) ; so large a proportion of which are held for life, that it would, if the amount to be raised by Income Tax is to be maintained, necessitate a considerable increase in the severity of the tax.

Moreover, time, the great healer of all things, has to a great extent done that for us which our own ingenuity has hitherto been unable to effect.

We must remember that most of the existing annuities have been taken under an Income Tax, and it is fair therefore to assume that when the amounts were calculated, the tax was allowed for.

Moreover, though it cannot be maintained that the Income Tax is altogether fair, it may be asked whether any other tax is entitled to this credit? Is the tea duty perfectly fair? Is it fair that rates should fall entirely on real property?

But in considering any particular tax in its operation on different classes, we ought to base our conclusions, not on that tax taken alone, but on the system of taxation as a whole. Now as regards the incidence of the Income Tax on industrial incomes and on those derived from land, I have already shown that there *are* certain compensations, not I think sufficiently considered by those who attack the Income Tax on that ground; and I have also attempted to prove that the remedy which has been generally suggested would lower the rate of tax on a large proportion of landed incomes.

But supposing the Income Tax, as at present levied

presses somewhat harder on industrial incomes than on those derived from real property, are there no taxes which fall in a different manner?

A very large proportion of our taxation is derived from rates, and rates fall mainly on real property. There are not wanting well qualified and impartial judges, who, having no pecuniary interest in the matter one way or the other, consider that, taking all things into consideration, land is in England too heavily burdened. Thus M. Léonce de Lavergne, who is peculiarly qualified to express an opinion on such a subject; and who was selected by the Cobden Club to write the essay on French Land for their volume on Land Tenures; has stated that "*il n'est pas de pays au monde où la terre soit plus chargée qu'en Angleterre*;" a conclusion which was quoted and endorsed during the recent debates on the subject of the Income Tax in the French Chamber of Deputies, by another great French authority, M. Wolowski.

Sir Massey Lopes based his motion last year to transfer £2,500,000 of local expenditure from the rates to the consolidated fund, mainly on the same consideration, while the result of the division showed that a large majority of this House shared his views. But however this may be, it seems to me that even if the incidence of the Income Tax as at present assessed be unequal, that is in itself, though it may seem a paradox to say so, a reason why we should be very cautious in making any great change. We must not overlook the natural tendency which taxes have to regulate themselves. No doubt, under an arbitrary and uncertain system of taxation, you may impoverish a

people ; no doubt under the plea of protecting native industry, you may check commerce and raise the price of necessaries ; but as between class and class, all inequalities of taxation have a great tendency to right themselves. Now the Income Tax is no new tax ; all those now engaged in trades or professions have entered into them under this tax ; and in fact if the inequality be as great as is alleged by its opponents (which, however, I have endeavoured to show is not the case), it is necessary to consider whether we should not create a new evil in trying to remove an old one ; produce a wound in order to remove a scar.

I know that some will deny this. Suppose it has been said that the taxation on professions was raised by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and on trades  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. ; would a physician raise his charge from 20s. to 20s.  $3\frac{1}{4}d.$  ? Would a lawyer raise the sacred 6s. 8d. to 6s.  $9\frac{1}{4}d.$  ? Or would tradesmen be able to make any corresponding addition to their charges ? It would be as reasonable, we are told, “ to argue that a reduction of  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  a pound in the tea duty would lead to a reduction in the price of tea sold at 5s. per lb.” There is no doubt some truth in this argument ; it seems to me a valid and sufficient reason against petty and frequent changes in taxation ; changes, the inconvenience of which our Chancellors of the Exchequer have not sufficiently appreciated. Nor would the adjustments be made in the manner suggested by the above statement. The immemorial 6s. 8d. would doubtless remain unaltered, but there are various other ways in which the adjustment would gradually be made though, of course so very small a difference would be hardly perceptible. We have recently removed the

shilling duty on corn, in the full confidence that consumers will, in some form or other, enjoy the benefit of the change, even though it may not be directly shown in the price of the quartern loaf. Moreover, this objection is based on the hypothesis that the difference is very small, while the case against the tax rests on the opposite assumption, namely, that there is a serious and substantial grievance to be redressed.

If then the incidence of taxation tends always to regulate itself according to natural laws, it evidently behoves us to be careful lest in any sudden and considerable alteration of our system, we should create, instead of remedying, an evil. If an old inequality has been removed by time ; to allow for it again is to create a new one.

## VI.

### *THE NATIONAL DEBT.*

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN SECONDING MR.  
CANDLISH'S MOTION, TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1871.

NATIONAL indebtedness is one of the three great dangers which threaten Europe—namely, pauperism, war, and debt. Poor Laws, in many respects, appeal to our best sympathies, against our better judgment. Military enthusiasm rouses some of our deepest passions, against our calmer reason ; while as regards debt, the love of present ease stifles the voice of prudence and the sterner dictates of duty. Most European nations have immensely increased their debt during the last fifty years. Thus North Germany, in 1815, owed £100,000,000 ; in 1870, £150,000,000 ; France, in 1815, owed £70,000,000 ; in 1870, £518,000,000 ; Austria, in 1815, owed £99,000,000 ; in 1870, £300,000,000 ; Russia, in 1815, owed £80,000,000 ; in 1870, £300,000,000 ; Spain, in 1815, owed £100,000,000 ; in 1870, £225,000,000 ; Italy, in 1815, owed £50,000,000 ; in 1870, £257,000,000 ; and the United States, in 1815, owed £25,000,000 ; and in 1870, £477,000,000 ; making a total of £524,000,000 in 1815, and £2,227,000,000 in 1870 ; and if we

include other countries, the grand total, according to Mr. Dudley Baxter, is no less than £3,845,000,000 in 1870, against £1,530,000,000 in 1815, showing an increase of no less than £2,300,000,000, of which by far the greater part has been incurred during the last twenty years. Our own Debt, indeed, has, happily, not increased during the last half-century, but it is even now much heavier per head than that of any other country. Thus, in England the interest per head is 17s. 5d.; in the United States, 12s. 6d.; in Holland, 12s. 3d.; in Italy, 11s. 10d. in France, 8s. 7d.; in Austria, 7s. 3d.; in Spain, 7s.; in Belgium, 6s. 10d.; in Russia, 2s. 10d.; and in North Germany, 2s. 9d. per head. Moreover, if we look further back in England's history, we find that the debt has, on the whole, been increasing with terrible rapidity. In 1689 it was £664,000; in 1691, £3,130,000; in 1700, £9,407,000; in 1720, £54,000,000; in 1750, £77,000,000; in 1775, £127,000,000; in 1800, £471,000,000; and in 1815, £861,000,000, without including the value of the Terminable Annuities. From that date, it began to decline. In 1825, it was £810,000,000; in 1830, £785,000,000; in 1840, £789,000,000; and in 1850, it was £787,000,000. In the Crimean War it rose, and in 1858 amounted to £805,000,000. The subsequent figures are not comparable with the preceding, because they contain the calculated value of the Terminable Annuities. The total Debt, then, in 1860, was £821,900,000; and in 1870, £800,700,000. Political economists have long urged the necessity of reducing debt in time of peace. The practice of funding, said Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*, "has gradually enfeebled every State which has adopted it," and he



advised that out of an income of £16,250,000, no less than £6,000,000 should be devoted to the reduction of our Debt. David Hume, in his *Essay on Public Credit*, said, roundly, that if the nation does not destroy the Debt, the Debt will destroy the nation. More recent writers, as, for instance, Mr. Dudley Baxter and Mr. De Meschin, have taken the same view. Sir George Lewis expressed his conviction that—

“It is certainly incumbent upon Parliament to take such means as are at its disposal to prevent us from imposing a perpetual burden upon our successors.”

Mr. Cobden quotes with approbation the saying of an American statesman that the reduction of debt gave more strength to a nation than one hundred ships of the line ready for battle, or a hundred thousand armed soldiers; and Mr. Gladstone, during the Crimean War, made a noble effort to meet the expenses of the war out of the services of the year. Speaking of the National Debt, in 1854, he said, in eloquent terms—

“Any man who has had to do with the administration of the finances of the country must feel how many sore evils it has given rise to—how many grievous burdens you are compelled to keep upon the people, because of the demands of the enormous, almost overpowering, mass of our debt; how many good works you are obliged to defer, or, if commenced, are brought to a stand; how many you are obliged to narrow and pare; and cut down the assistance you are desirous of offering to civilized and honest pursuits, because of the immense and crushing weight of this great, permanent, and standing debt.”

Moreover, when legislating for others, Parliament habitually acts on this principle, for when local bodies are authorised to borrow on the security of rates, they

are almost always compelled to redeem the loans so created, within a certain number of years.

Sir Stafford Northcote has more than once spoken in similar terms ; and no wonder. The average interest on the debt, since 1815, has been £30,000,000 in round numbers, making a total of £1,600,000,000 paid since that date, for interest alone. In thirty years, we shall again have paid an amount equal to the whole debt ; and yet, as far as such payments are concerned, we shall still owe as much as ever. In fact, not paying the debt practically means paying it over and over again. But it is said that if the money which would be required to reduce the National Debt be left to fructify in the pockets of the people, they will make a better use of it, because it will then be applied to increase the national wealth. This argument, if good for anything, is good against any reduction of any debt. But it is obvious that, as it has always been found necessary to borrow in times of war, if we do not repay in times of peace, we shall go on increasing our Debt until it crushes us, and national ruin will be only a question of time. For it is clear that if a nation borrows while it is at war, and does not pay off in times of peace, its Debt will continue to increase, until national bankruptcy is the ultimate and inevitable result. Moreover, it must be remembered that taxes are paid out of income, and that the savings of the people are only a fraction of their income.

Those who oppose the reduction of Debt generally assume that the same amount will be saved, and the capital of the country will be increased equally, whether we reduce our taxation or whether we retain it, and apply

the surplus to a reduction of Debt—that the difference is merely whether the amount be saved by individuals or by nations as a whole. This, however, is not the case. On the contrary, taxes are in the main paid out of income, and not out of capital. It is, indeed, somewhat extraordinary that this should be denied by those who are anxious to apply the whole of any surplus to reduction of taxation, and who argue that such reduction is made up for by increased consumption ; because in this case it is evident that for every £1 of taxation reduced, £4 or £5 must have been spent. Mr. Mill laid it down as an undoubted fact that “people did not wholly pay their taxes from what they would have saved, but partly, if not chiefly, from what they would have spent.” So far from believing that national savings would diminish individual savings, I believe that the very reverse would be the case, and that the example of national thrift would tend to encourage prudence and economy on the part of individuals. Of course, I do not deny that there may be cases in which it is better to reduce or remove taxes rather than to pay off debt. A tax which presses heavily on trade or commerce may cost the country far more than it brings into the Exchequer. But this cannot, I think, be said to be the case at present. It was estimated in 1866, that out of an income of £650,000,000 a year, the saving was only £140,000,000. But it is urged that the National Debt was mainly borrowed in Three per Cent. Stock, and that individuals can get more than three per cent. for their money. Three per Cents. at 90, however, pay  $3\frac{1}{3}$ , and to that must be added the expense of collecting the sum required for the dividends. The total revenue last year was £68,850,000, and the expense of

collection was £5,000,000. If, then, it cost £5,000,000 to collect £69,000,000, the expense of collecting the £27,000,000 required to pay the interest on the National Debt will be £2,000,000 ; and, consequently, the real annual cost of the National Debt is £29,000,000, and not £27,000,000. It is unnecessary to observe that even this does not fairly represent the cost to the taxpayer, which, even under the best system, is greater than the gross sum received by the State. Without, however, dwelling on this, it is obvious that the real cost of the National Debt is not 3 per cent. but more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Now, hon. members know that for the last three years the rate of discount on mercantile bills has averaged less than this ; depositors in private and joint-stock banks receive, on an average, less. The capital invested in railways which amounts to over £230,000,000, receives, on an average, barely 3 per cent. And how about land ? I should like to ask hon. gentlemen opposite whether land, after deducting all the local charges, of which the House heard so much a few nights ago, paid a clear  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ? If this last argument, then, against the repayment of the National Debt breaks down—if the arguments in favour of doing so be so strong—then comes the practical question—what course ought we to pursue ? I need hardly say that I am not going to advocate a sinking fund. No doubt, money when allowed to accumulate at compound interest, does increase with surprising rapidity. Many proposals to take advantage of this have been made from time to time ; and perhaps the most extravagant ever seriously contemplated was that of a Frenchman, M. Ricard, who left 500 livres by will, 100 to accumulate for 100 years, and then to be spent

on essays on the lawfulness of interest ; 100 to accumulate for 200 years, to form a fund to reward virtue and literary merit ; 100 for 300 years, when it could have increased to 226,000,000, to found banks and museums ; 100 for 400 years, when it would have amounted to 30,000,000,000, to build 100 towns, each with 150,000 inhabitants ; 100 for 500 years when it would have reached four millions of millions, and was to be devoted to various miscellaneous objects—namely, to abolish fees for masses ; increase revenues of clergy ; maintain all French children till three years of age ; found workhouses, hospitals, and asylums ; and pay off the National Debts of England and France ; and, lastly, the surplus was to be spent at the discretion of his executors. A sinking fund is, indeed, proposed now by no one. But neither is our present system satisfactory. We are slightly diminishing our Debt in two ways<sup>1</sup>—by accidental surpluses, and by terminable annuities. Of the first I need say nothing ; but the latter—that is to say, terminable annuities—seem to me to contain many of the objectionable features of a sinking fund. I object to them on five grounds—1. They must be continued during war, even if we are borrowing at higher rates ; 2. They tie up the hands of Parliament ; 3. They are inconvenient to holders, and consequently are an expensive mode of borrowing ; but this objection does not of course apply to those held by the Government on account of savings banks, &c. 4. They assume that the people have not resolution enough to look the Debt

<sup>1</sup> Sir Stafford Northcote has introduced a third, but as he has also borrowed considerably, our present annual reduction is but trifling

boldly in the face ; 5. They diminish the moral effect of a reduction of the Debt. Apart from the mode of dealing with the debt, I maintain that we are not doing enough to reduce it. Taking the most favourable period, we have, since 1857, paid off £35,000,000, being at the rate of considerably less than £3,000,000 a year. My hon. friend (Mr. Candlish) has shown how much more has been done by some other countries. To the cases quoted by him I will only add that of Holland, which, from 1850 to 1868, reduced its debt at the rate of £1,220,000 a year—equivalent to £10,000,000 in our case. My hon. friend proposes that we should set aside £10,000,000 a year to the reduction of our Debt. Now, is that an unreasonable proposition ? Adam Smith, writing when the national income was £10,000,000, and our population only one-third of what it is now, proposed to raise the revenue to £15,250,000, and to devote £6,250,000, or much more than one-third of the whole amount, towards the reduction of the debt. Sir George Lewis, in 1855, thought that £5,000,000 a year was “little” to devote to that purpose. Mr. Lowe, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, said—

“As far as I am concerned I should be very glad if the House would consent to put on a shilling income tax for the reduction of the Debt.”

A shilling income tax would produce far more than £10,000,000. I much regret that my right honourable friend did not feel himself able to carry out his own views. I do not indeed deny that the reduction of the sugar duties was a good thing in itself. A free breakfast table would be a great boon ; but my idea of a free breakfast table is the table of a man who is not in

debt. Cheap tea and cheap coffee are very desirable, but tea which is not paid for is dear at any price. Moreover, I scarcely think that our Chancellors of the Exchequer realize the inconvenience of continual changes in rates of duty. Great changes, such as those associated with the name of Mr. Gladstone, might be great blessings; but constant changes are very injurious to trade. For weeks before a Budget speech, we know in the city that business is deranged, commerce checked, and speculation encouraged. I wish that for some years our Chancellors of the Exchequer would try how little, instead of how much, they could alter. Moreover, I maintain that we have now a favourable opportunity of reducing the debt. From 1855 to 1869, not less than £23,000,000 of annual taxes have been repealed, and yet we have a surplus amounting to more than £4,000,000, and continually increasing. Under these circumstances, I venture to urge on the House that the liquidation of Debt is a national duty and a high moral discipline; that it would be an example to other nations, and would influence the action of individuals. If the nation be indifferent to its debt, how can we expect that private persons should exercise an exceptional prudence? The course I recommend would also greatly strengthen the country in the eyes of foreign nations, and I do not think the sum proposed by my honourable friend (Mr. Candlish) is excessive. If adopted, the advantage would be soon felt; in three years we should have relieved the country of a permanent burden of £1,000,000 a year, and many of us might hope to see the Debt reduced within comparatively narrow limits. The government of Mr. Gladstone has a large majority, and in my judgment deserves their support; but there

is a feeling in the country that in some respects they are too humble—that they underrate the power of the country. England is conscious of strength, and, though not anxious to be feared, is determined to be respected, or, at least, to deserve respect. Now, as regards the National Debt, we have shown that, in the opinion of our greatest political economists—nay, in that of the Government itself—the Debt ought to be reduced, that we have the means of doing so, and that the amount proposed by my honourable friend is not excessive. If it be maintained that the reduction of debt is inexpedient, let us consider the arguments on which this opinion is based; but it is evident that, on the contrary, it is admitted by all competent authorities that the debt ought to be reduced; then let us not trifle with this duty—let us not then be satisfied with paltry amounts and accidental surpluses, but let us at once make such an effort as may be necessary to effect our object, and let us do so on a scale worthy of a great, a wealthy, and a prudent people.



## VII.

### *ON THE DECLARATION OF PARIS.*

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 22, 1878.

ALTHOUGH very different opinions have been expressed by statesmen as to the subject of maritime belligerent rights, there is one point on which all are agreed—the great, I may say the transcendent, importance of the subject. Indeed, the noble lord now at the head of Her Majesty's Government, in a former debate, did not hesitate to assert that it was the most important that could engage our attention, and the only apology I need make in bringing the matter before the attention of the House is, not for my subject, but for myself.

From time immemorial, disputes have arisen between different nations as to the maritime rights of belligerents. In the year 1856, however, the Conference of Paris took the matter into consideration, and arrived at the following conclusions, known as the Declaration of Paris. They are as follows, viz. :—

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective ; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

In acceding to this arrangement, we no doubt abandoned rights which we had hitherto claimed, and which high authorities have regarded as of great importance to this country. Under these circumstances there has always been a strong party anxious to recede from the Declaration. Nevertheless, though the policy adopted in it has been again and again brought before Parliament, it has been always sustained.

I trust, then, that the honourable member for West Cumberland (Mr. Percy Wyndham), and those who agree with him, will not think me uncourteous if, on the present occasion, I assume that England has determined not to recede from the Declaration. Indeed, as the honourable member, in his able speech last year, failed to convince the House, he at least will not blame me for feeling that no one else is likely to effect this object. But the honourable member did show conclusively that the present position of affairs is most unsatisfactory.

On this point, I may also quote the authority of Mr. John Stuart Mill, who even though regretting that we had acceded to the Declaration of Paris at all, considered that, this having been done, it was "an actual necessity for us to take the second step and obtain the exemption of all private property at sea from the contingencies of war."

The present position of affairs is dangerous, in the first place, because it is one-sided ; some important nations—especially the United States—having declined to concur in the Declaration.

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 1867, vol. cclv. p. 881.

Secondly, although the Declaration professes that privateering is abolished, Mr. Percy Wyndham clearly showed<sup>1</sup> this to be *practically* not the case. In 1870 Prussia decreed the establishment of a voluntary marine, which the highest legal authorities have held not to be technically a violation of the Declaration, though certainly depriving it, so far as this clause is concerned, of almost all real value. In fact, to abolish privateering you must go farther, and abolish the capture of private property at sea.

The third clause of the Declaration says, that neutral goods are not liable to capture under *enemy's flag*. But this provision also is very imperfectly carried out. If you capture the ship, you carry off the goods in it, even though you may eventually restore them. Suppose, for instance, that goods intended for China or Australia are in a vessel captured by American cruisers and taken into New York. There, no doubt, they might be claimed by their owners. But the owners might have no agents at New York, or they might not hear of the capture. Even under the most favourable circumstances, they would lose their market, and be put to considerable expense.

Evidently, then, the fourth clause is not at present effectually carried out, nor can it be, so long as ships are liable to capture. It is the old story of the pound of flesh. You cannot capture the ship without capturing the goods; and even if you restored the latter, still you would not put the merchant in his original position.

In fact, the policy of the Declaration cannot be carried

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 1877, vol. ccxxxii. p. 1273.

out, unless it be extended to ships, in which case there is every reason to believe that America would give in her adhesion, and the Declaration, thus amended, would be adopted by all civilised nations.

That this would be desirable, in the general interests of mankind, no one probably would contest, and that being so, even if it were contrary to British interests, we ought not, I think, to withhold our consent.

But let us consider whether it *would* be contrary to our interests.

The greatest of British interests is not only the peace, but the prosperity of the world. A selfish policy is not only wrong, but foolish. The country would, I am sure, by an overwhelming majority, give up any claim which could be clearly shown to be unjust, ungenerous, or injurious to the general interests.

The proposal to render ships free from capture and seizure is one clearly for the general advantage, and it is therefore for those who oppose it, to show that it would be so dangerous to this country as to justify us in resisting. This, however, I not only deny, but maintain that we ourselves should be great gainers by the change.

No one can have read the various debates and discussions that have taken place on this subject without feeling that on one point there is an overwhelming consensus of opinion—namely, that the present state of things is unsatisfactory, and may become dangerous.

On the other hand, while statesmen and politicians have been much divided in opinion as to the course which we ought to pursue, the representatives of our commerce have been almost unanimous in considering

that we ought to proceed on the lines of the Declaration of Paris.

The fact is our statesmen think of our navy, and our power of inflicting injury on our opponents in war; while mercantile men think of our mercantile marine, and the material interests of the country.

The select committee of the House of Commons on merchant shipping, which sat in 1860, and which consisted of Mr. Baring, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Dalglish and other eminent commercial authorities, came to the conclusion that "the time had arrived when all private property, not contraband of war, should be exempt from capture at sea." This country has at all times a much larger amount of property afloat than any other nation, and has consequently an enormous interest at stake; they therefore added that they "think it their duty to point out to the House the present unsatisfactory position of the question, as it immediately affects British merchant shipping. They do so in the confidence that the whole subject will receive due attention in that quarter where the responsibility rests."

In 1862, a motion with this object was brought forward by Mr. Horsfall, the member for Liverpool, who was supported by most of the members representing the mercantile and shipping interests of the country. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in a petition presented to the House of Commons, have since expressed their conviction that even if the course proposed would deprive our navy of a certain amount of power, it would on the other hand shield us from the infinitely greater injury which the fleets of any strong maritime state would inflict on our mercantile marine in time of war.

The late Mr. Baring, when this question was before the House in 1862, asked the pertinent questions—What country has most commerce afloat, most property to be seized? Surely England. What country would gain most by the preservation of that property? England. You say that your object in war is to injure your enemy. What country could be so much injured in war through her commerce as England?

Last, not least, the same view was taken by Cobden in his celebrated "Letter to Henry Ashworth."

I do not however know that I can refer to any opinions stronger than some that have been expressed by members of the present Government.

For instance Mr. Bourke, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in 1871, said that—

"No one could deny that the position in which the question of belligerent rights at sea had been left by the Declaration of Paris might one day cause serious inconvenience to us, might cramp and cripple our naval power, might be productive of much loss and injury to our mercantile marine; and in our anxiety to avoid that result, might involve us in serious disputes with nations, which either were parties to the Declaration of Paris, or had since declared their adhesion to its principles." <sup>1</sup>

Again, Mr. Cave, the Paymaster-General, said in the same year, that—

"Under existing circumstances on the mere rumour of war we were in danger of losing the whole carrying trade of the country, and very naturally; because the first thing that happened was that insurance rose to war-risk rate, and everybody knew that the rate of insurance was one of the elements which governed freight, and therefore, the carrying trade was naturally diverted into another channel," <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 1871, vol. ccv. p. 1483.    <sup>2</sup> Hansard, 1871, vol. ccv. p. 1490.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, in 1862, made use of a very curious expression. "Ought," he asked, the great navy of England "to be frittered away in the protection of our commerce?" and he proceeded to point out that in other ways our fleet would be fully employed during war. We might rely on it, he said, "that the navy would have plenty of occupation in case of war." The right honourable gentleman, however, went on to say that—

"He could not look on that state of things as definite or satisfactory which puts in jeopardy the carrying trade of this country, the prosperity of our commercial marine, and through our commercial marine the very security and foundation on which our navy itself rested."

The extension of the Declaration of Paris, therefore, so far from diminishing the utility of our navy in war, would set it free for objects—from a military point of view—of even greater importance than that of protecting our commerce.

He also warned us that—

"The experience of other countries was not to be forgotten. The Dutch were once the carriers of Europe; but their power and trade had been destroyed by circumstances very analogous to those in which we were placed by the Declaration of Paris."

The right honourable gentleman now has the responsibility of power. The present state of things, in his opinion, "puts in jeopardy the trade of the country, and through our commercial marine, the very security and foundation on which our navy itself rests." Surely, then, we may expect that the right honourable gentle-

<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 1862, vol. clix. p. 1615.

man will either explain to us clearly why he has changed his opinion, or will concur in some such resolution as that now before the House.

Throughout the whole of these discussions, I doubt whether any commercial authority of importance could be quoted in support of the present state of affairs.

Nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider the facts. The statistics of the mercantile marine of Great Britain, and of some other nations, are given in Parliamentary returns, which, however, do not include all countries.

The most complete figures are those of the French Bureau Veritas, and perhaps from the present point of view it is better to quote from a foreign source, since it precludes any idea that the relative numbers of foreign vessels are understated. What are the figures? The total tonnage of sea-going vessels of the world amounts to about 21,000,000 tons. As to value, it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory estimate. Ships, however, in case of damage to property, are liable by law to the extent of £8 per ton, and in the case of life to £15. Probably if we estimated the value roundly at £10 per ton, we should not be very far wrong. The value of the mercantile sea-going marine of the world would therefore be over £200,000,000—showing the great importance of the subject.

Now of the 21,000,000 tons, no less than 9,170,000 belongs to Great Britain. Next come the United States of America, who have 3,180,000 tons, or in round numbers, only one-third of ours. Next to America comes Norway with 1,500,000; Italy, 1,400,000; Germany nearly as many; France, 1,000,000; and so on. In fact, our mercantile marine is greater than those of Ger-



many, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Greece, and Turkey, all put together. It is more than that of all the rest of Europe; nay, if we except the United States of America, it is more than that of all the rest of the world.

But this comparison, startling as it is, scarcely does justice to our case. In the present state of commerce, steamers are becoming more and more important. Distant commerce, indeed, becomes more and more concentrated in them. They would be the real prizes—if prizes are to be made at all. Now what is the state of things as regards steamers? In many respects our case is even stronger.

Altogether there are in the world 5,770 sea-going steamers. Of these 3,300 belong to Great Britain, about 600 to America, 314 only to France, 226 to Germany, 230 to Spain; in short, 3,300 to this country, 2,400 to all the rest of the world. Or if we take tonnage, the total is 5,700,000 tons; 3,360,000 to us, 2,320,000 to the rest of the world; so that we actually possess a larger mercantile steam fleet, by far, than all other nations put together.

Our interest, therefore, in this matter is overwhelming; it is surely no wonder that those practically engaged in commerce have shown themselves almost unanimous in pressing this question on the attention of Government. If we except one or two nations, our stake in going to war is, to use a common expression, as Lombard Street to a China orange.

We may be told that the navies of most other countries are so weak that our commerce is practically safe. But

is this so? We must remember that it is not only those whose property is captured who suffer. Under existing circumstances, the mere apprehension of a war practically diminishes the value of every ship afloat. Not merely the fact of war, but even the fear of war. Recollect, moreover, the immense damage which three or four vessels inflicted on American shipping, during the war between the North and the South.

We have heard a great deal in this discussion about the navy; but let me ask, is our navy intended to protect our commerce, or our commerce to support our navy?

Doubtless our navy is far stronger than that of any other power—probably than that of all Europe combined; but, on the other hand, our mercantile marine is also enormously more valuable than that of other countries. Moreover, I should like to ask, if our mercantile marine be destroyed, what will become of our navy? It is hardly necessary to point out that the old system of convoys is now wholly out of the question.

There is another part of the subject which deserves the most careful consideration, I mean that of blockades. It is a difficult question, but there is certainly a great deal to be said in favour of restricting the right of blockade.

Islands are particularly susceptible of being blockaded. England is an island. Islands which are dependent on other countries for food suffer most; no country imports so much food as England. Those countries would suffer most by a blockade to which most merchandise was coming, and most of the merchandise afloat is going to or from England.

Blockades are specially injurious to neutrals ; and if we are to have continual wars on the Continent, I hope we shall generally remain neutral.

We leave, at present, the legal right of blockade to our opponents, while, in recent wars, we have not ourselves generally adopted it ; and even where we did, we were surely ourselves the principal sufferers.

In the Crimean war, for instance, Russia exported to England more than 500,000 quarters of grain. Now suppose we could have effectually prevented this ; Russia would have lost her market, no doubt, but England would have lost her food.

Moreover, the development of railroads has entirely altered the question of blockades. You cannot now practically blockade any Continental port. The only effect of attempting it is that the goods are transported by rail to the nearest neutral port. In the Russian war, for instance, we blockaded the Baltic ports. What was the result ? Only that the Russian produce came by rail to Memel, and we had to pay the railway fare.

But suppose we could effectually blockade the Russian ports, and prevent any of her produce from escaping. Our principal imports from Russia are grain, flax, and hemp, and wood. In round numbers, we import grain to the value of £10,000,000. I need not dwell on the disadvantage to us of stopping so large a supply of food.

Then we import flax, seed, and hemp, to the amount of about £6,000,000, which are used in our manufactures. To deprive our manufacturers of this supply of raw material, would tend to embarrass them, to lower the value of their works, and to throw their men out of em-

ployment. Nay, the result would be doubly prejudicial to them, because, while diminishing their supply and raising the price of raw material, it would increase on the other hand, the supplies accessible to continental manufacturers, and thus tend to lower the price to them, while raising it to us.

The same is the case with wood, which we import from Russia to the extent of £3,000,000 a year. To stop this supply would injure us, as well as Russia. Moreover in this matter, owing to the magnitude of our trade we stand in a different position from any other country.

Suppose for instance a war between Russia and France, and that Russia could blockade all the French ports. She would no doubt embarrass France, and with very little loss to herself; because out of the total French exports amounting to £150,000,000, less than £2,000,000 are destined for Russia; a very small proportion. I admit, however, that with reference to the present question we cannot take the whole export trade of France, but must deduct that with conterminous countries, such as Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, to which she can send her produce by land. This leaves £75,000,000; less than £2,000,000 of which go to Russia; so that if Russia could destroy the export trade of France, she would inflict a great injury on France, with very little suffering to herself.

But what is the case with us? Our position is very different. Out of the £75,000,000, no less than £43,000,000—much more than one-half—comes to this country. If then Russia could destroy French commerce, she would injure France and do herself no appreciable harm: but if we do so, we injure not France only, but

should ourselves be very serious sufferers by our own success.

If we take other countries instead of France, the result is very much the same. The external trade of Russia, after deducting conterminous countries, may be taken at 220,000,000 of roubles ; of which 130,000,000, or considerably more than half, come to England. But even this understates our case ; because as regards the Russian trade with such countries as Belgium and Holland, the effect would only be to substitute railway for sea carriage. If we take the external trade between Russia and countries with which it has no direct railway connection, practically the whole comes to Great Britain. If we take Holland ; out of 426,000,000 of guilders, 247,000,000, or much more than half, come to us.<sup>1</sup>

I am reluctant to weary the House unnecessarily with statistics, and I will therefore only take one other country—the United States. The United States exported, in 1875, produce to the amount of £106,000,000, and of this over £69,000,000, or more than two-thirds, came to Great Britain.

In fact it is not, I believe, going too far to say that of the total produce at sea, considerably more than half is on its way to or from this country.

But even these facts, remarkable as they are, do not fully bring out the strength of our case. Even of the produce not coming to this country, a great deal is the property of British subjects, much has been paid for by English credit, and is the security for advances made by British merchants. If I could only impress on the House the overwhelming interest we have at sea, I am

<sup>1</sup> Russia, *Trade Reports*, N. 4, 1877.

sure they would almost unanimously adopt the resolution I have the honour of moving.

But, we are told ; it is absurd and unnatural that the shipping and mercantile interests should flourish while the country is suffering from war ; that the shipping interest cannot expect to be placed in any exceptional position. But the shipping interest is at present in an exceptional position. If we go to war, the estates of our English landowners are not liable to capture and seizure, while the property of shipowners *is*. War would not materially affect the value of land, would not stop the cultivation of the soil ; but it would act on our shipping most prejudicially. Still I will not dwell on this point, because I am endeavouring to maintain that the extension of the Declaration of Paris to ships would not benefit the shipowners only—as to that, I suppose, there can be no difference of opinion—but the community as a whole. Honourable members, in discussing this question, speak as if the mercantile classes only were benefitted by commerce.

Sir, I regretted to hear the honourable member for Cumberland last year speak of us as “Tainted by the corruption which the unqualified genius of trade must ever engender.” No doubt the honourable member had high authorities with him. Aristotle, I know, asserts that “Commerce is incompatible with that dignified life which it is our wish that our citizens should lead, and totally adverse to that generous elevation of mind with which it is our ambition to inspire them.”

But however that may be, it requires little consideration to convince any one that commerce benefits not the merchant only, but the whole community. To

measure the benefits of commerce by the profit of the merchant, would be like estimating the advantages of education by the salary of the schoolmaster.

Mr. Bourke, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, last year said that it would be absurd that the merchant ships of an enemy should safely enter our ports in time of war. He did not, however, point out the nature of the absurdity, that foreign ships would only come to bring us something which we wanted.

In fact, merchants can make no profit unless by rendering themselves useful.

It is often said that if wars were not dreadful they would be perpetual; but what country would be compelled to sue for peace by the loss of its shipping? During the Crimean war—that is to say even before the Declaration of Paris—the whole amount of Russian property which we captured only amounted to £82,000—a loss which could not possibly have the slightest effect on Russian policy.

Another objection is that of Lord Palmerston, who, in 1862, said that if we adopted these principles we should almost “reduce war to an exchange of diplomatic notes.” Well, and a good thing too. That would be a result which I for one should contemplate not only with equanimity but with satisfaction. The tendency of history has been to render wars more humane, as civilisation progressed.

The extension of the Declaration of Paris to all property afloat is merely a step in this direction.

In the earliest wars, all enemies were killed, and even their corpses mutilated. In a further stage, they were enslaved; after that they were ransomed; then milder

principles began to be extended to property, first at land, subsequently at sea. Except contraband of war, the old principles are now applied to ships only; and it seems to many that the time has now come when the same rule might be extended to ships also.

In the discussions which have taken place on this subject, we heard much about the opinions of various great authorities on questions of international law. I have not, however, attempted to discuss the subject from this point of view. The question, as it seems to me, is one for the future—not the past. It is a practical, not a legal matter; and the Board of Trade returns, or still better, a visit to the docks, would teach us more than all the pages of Vattel or of Puffendorf.

We have been accustomed, in contemplating war, to think rather of our fleet than of our commerce; and to think when we speak of our “navy,” of our armed—rather than of our mercantile marine. Surely, however, we should look at the question from another point of view. Foreign countries have a commerce far less important than ours—they propose to abandon the right of capturing our vessels, and we actually hesitate to assent. The time will come when our doubt will seem almost incredible.

I maintain, then, that the extension of the Declaration is desirable in the interests of this country.

There is another portion of the subject which also deserves very careful consideration, namely, the question of contraband of war; but I feel that I have already occupied so much of the time of the House that I must not enter upon it.

Sir, I have endeavoured, in discussing this question,



to meet the objections which, as it seemed to me, were most likely to be brought against the present motion. It may be said that I have argued this question on low grounds; but if, even under this aspect, it would be desirable to extend the Declaration of Paris to ships, *à fortiori* would it be the case, if the question be regarded from a higher point of view.

I hope, however, that I shall not be supposed to regard this question as one that ought to be decided by selfish or mercenary considerations. Far from it; believing, as I do, that to make ships free from capture is distinctly for the general benefit of mankind, I think we ought to entertain the proposal, even if it would to a certain extent weaken our power—that is to say, our power in war—for such a course could not, I think, but increase our influence in peace. If it would weaken our power of offence, it would as certainly increase our strength for defence.

A great country has responsibilities, as well as rights, and our countrymen are always anxious to take a just—nay, a generous—view of international relations. Often, however, we scarcely do ourselves justice; and it is, perhaps, partly our own fault if we are looked upon by foreign nations with some coolness, and even with suspicion. Our hearts are warm, and we have made great sacrifices to promote the cause of freedom and justice, but unfortunately we often speak as if we thought only of ourselves.

In this very case, we are, I fear, supposed to be the great obstacle to an important improvement—to desire to stretch our belligerent rights to the utmost.

I am most anxious that England should not be open

to the charge of throwing her influence into the wrong scale, of resisting a proposal which is for the general welfare. I trust, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government will consent to give this matter their serious consideration, and I hope the result of their deliberations may be that England will take the initiative in proposing to other countries the adoption of a step which would be a decided advance in civilisation, which is in harmony with the dictates and principles of our religion, and which would, moreover, do something to mitigate the sufferings and horrors of war.

## VIII.

### *MARINE INSURANCES.*

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON  
FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1875.

EVERY one I am sure will admit the great importance of the question now before the House. It is a melancholy subject to reflect upon, for the report of the recent Commission on Unseaworthy Ships showed that in three years 3,300 vessels, representing 1,000,000 tons of shipping, and involving a very large loss of life, had been wrecked. Even, however, as far as the mere destruction of property is concerned, it would be a great mistake to look upon this as essentially either an underwriter's or a shipowner's question. The underwriter covers himself by increase of premium, the shipowner covers himself by raising freights, and the real loss falls upon the consumer, who has to pay more for the goods he requires. That this immense loss is to a certain extent due to preventable causes is generally admitted, and Her Majesty's Government has brought in a bill upon the subject, which I hoped might do good; but which, after all, does not go to the root of the question. I have not indeed much confidence in Government

inspection, as I fear that it would gradually become a form which would give little security to the public, and would tend to relieve the shipowners from responsibility, while inflicting on them unnecessary annoyance and vexatious interference. The only real mode of checking the evil is, in my opinion, to act upon the motives of the shipowner. The House knows what has been done by our great shipowning companies.

One great company has, indeed, landed more passengers than they took on board. We also know how seldom vessels from Australia with gold cargoes go to the bottom and take the gold with them. It is very far from my wish, however, to make any attack on shipowners. On the contrary, it is certainly their interest that the law should not only be clear and consistent, but such as to offer all possible encouragement to care and prudence. In the present state of the law, however, it is actually in some cases better for the shipowner, in a pecuniary point of view, that his ship should be lost. Surely, such a state of things is entirely contrary to public policy, and the true principles of insurance. Insurance ought to be a contract of indemnity. The present state of the law, however, in regard to it, is most inconsistent. A person cannot over-insure against fire, and it is contrary to law to insure a life in which the insurer has no pecuniary interest. The compensation awarded to sufferers by railway accidents has a tendency to render the companies more careful. Supposing, however, that a railway company could actually make a profit out of a bad accident, would the public stand such a state of the law? surely it would be most injurious to the public interest? Even this, however, is

hardly a parallel case ; but suppose the stationmaster and pointsmen could make a large profit out of a fatal accident, is it not obvious that this would add one more to the terrors of railway travelling, and would certainly not conduce to the safety of passengers ? There seem to be three points specially requiring attention—namely, over-insurance, insurance of gross-freight, and the law as regards seaworthiness on time policies—that is, when a ship is insured for, say, six months or a year. As regards the first, Mr. Harper called the attention of the Commission to a case in which a shipowner had insured his vessel for £36,000. She was abandoned by her crew, but subsequently picked up, and brought into port. It was found that it would take £16,000 to repair her thoroughly. On that, the shipowner claimed for a constructive total loss, swearing that the ship, though insured for £36,000, was really only worth £15,000. He proved, in fact, that this was the case, and the underwriters actually had to pay £36,000, on the express ground that the vessel was really only worth £15,000. In the case of “*Barker v. Janson*” a vessel was insured for £8,000, she being at that time, though unknown to the owners, a mere wreck, and, in fact, valueless. Yet the court held that, under the existing state of the law, the insurers were bound to pay. Mr. Stevenson, then secretary to Lloyd’s, truly pointed out that if a vessel worth £20,000 be insured for £30,000, the shipowner virtually insures for £20,000, and then bets £10,000 that she will go to the bottom.

Again, in the case of freight, the policy of allowing over-insurance is surely very objectionable. Last year,

for instance, a vessel sailed from Quebec for Liverpool. The freight amounted to £3,500, but was insured for £6,000. The ship was lost in the river St. Lawrence. Now, if she had completed her voyage prosperously, the owner would have earned £3,500, less at least £1,000 for wages, &c., so that his net receipt would not have exceeded £2,500; while, because the voyage was not successful, because the ship was wrecked, he got £6,000. Another remarkable anomaly in the present state of the law is, that while the question of seaworthiness can be raised in the case of a policy on goods, or on a ship if insured for a voyage, it cannot be opened on an insurance for time. As regards sailors, the law only allows them their wages up to the time a vessel is lost, and has always held that a seaman cannot insure his wages, for it is obvious that if he could, you would weaken his motives for bringing the voyage to a successful termination. It is stated in evidence that all the mutual insurance clubs forbid over-insurance. Surely that is a very remarkable fact? The present state of the law, moreover, is condemned by the highest authorities. Benecke, in his great work on Insurance, says:—

“The consequences of over-valuation are so dangerous that they deserve the attention, not only of underwriters, but even of the Legislature.”

Arnould, another standard authority, truly says that—

“The very essence of the contract of Marine Insurance is that it is a contract of indemnity. . . . And its whole spirit is violated if the insurer can make the occurrence of such casualties a means of gain, for this would give him an interest in procuring sea losses, which would be opposed to every principle of commercial policy.”

The Committee of Lloyd's also unanimously passed a resolution, calling the attention of the Commission to the anomalous state of the law in reference to unseaworthiness of ships, as applicable to policies of insurance for time, compared with policies of insurance on voyages. Chief Justice Best said, in the case of "*Murphy v. Bell*," that the temptation to fraudulent insurances thus given was very great. Chief Justice Cockburn, in the case of "*Byrne v. Schiller*," pointed out that our Marine Insurance law is founded on principles which are erroneous, and directly opposite to those on which the laws of America and of every country in Europe except England are founded. Mr. Cohen, one of our highest legal authorities, and Mr. Justice Keating entertained the same views. From this it appears that the unsatisfactory state of the existing law on the subject has been pointed out over and over again by the judges in our courts; and the Duke of Somerset, as Chairman of the Commission on Unseaworthy Ships, has summed up the matter, by saying that, in the opinion of the judges, not only did our law differ from that of every other country, but that the law of other countries was right, and ours was wrong. It is true that the Commission did not feel itself able to recommend any particular changes in the law; but they expressed themselves strongly in favour of extended examination, such as was recommended by the hon. member for Hastings (Mr. T. Brassey).

I, of course, do not deny that in some respects the present state of the law has its advantages. For instance, it is convenient to settle the value beforehand in the case of freights; but if the insurance were to

be on the real value, I believe there would be no practical difficulty in arriving at the amount ; and it must be remembered that the Admiralty Court constantly has to do so, in cases where one ship has been run down by another. It is alleged that such a change would increase litigation, but both Mr. Hollams and Mr. Walton, the two solicitors selected by the Commission to give evidence on that part of the subject, believed that, on the contrary, it would actually have a tendency to diminish law-suits. In Fire Insurance, there is very seldom any litigation about the value of the property insured. Moreover, in Marine Insurances, the value has to be considered in all cases of average—that is of damage—which, practically, nevertheless rarely leads to litigation. Moreover, though it would of course be very undesirable to do anything which would tend to increase litigation, still it must be remembered that we are here dealing with a case involving not only property, but life ; and a state of the law which tends to diminish the motives for prudence on the part of shipowners, which makes carelessness in some cases advantageous, and wrecks profitable, could not conduce to safety at sea, or to the public advantage. This is really not an underwriter's question. It is a question not only for honest shipowners, who suffer from the law as it now stands, because they have to pay higher premiums than would otherwise be necessary ; but also for the public, on whom, in reality, these losses ultimately fall in the shape of increased prices. When there has been so decided an expression of opinion on the subject from those best qualified to judge, I cannot help thinking that there is a strong case at any



rate for inquiry. The question is, no doubt, one of much difficulty. But there are strong grounds for considering that the law with regard to ships should be assimilated to the law with regard to fire and life; anything which enables persons to make a profit out of the losses of others, though it may not lead to conscious fraud, tends to weaken the incentives to care and caution, on which safety at sea so much depends.

## IX.

### ON THE PRESERVATION OF OUR ANCIENT NATIONAL MONUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

ENGLISH travellers in Oriental countries frequently make severe remarks on the manner in which the most interesting remains of antiquity are allowed to go to ruin, or are even used in the construction of modern buildings. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says of the great statue of Rameses II. that "when the Turks have burnt it for lime, it will be regretted." In some cases, English influence has been successfully used to stop the work of destruction; as in the case of the ancient walls of Constantinople, the preservation of which is said to have been due to the influence of our ambassador.

Unfortunately, however, it is not only in foreign and semi-civilised countries that the remains of antiquity are thus neglected; and our own archæologists have long watched with regret the gradual disappearance of our ancient national monuments. Thus Dr. Stokes, in his *Life of Petrie*, says: "The number of ancient remains that even during the last century have been wantonly destroyed is so great that their enumeration would be tedious."

When the Ordnance Map was made, there were near

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1877.

Marlborough three dolmens of sufficient magnitude to be marked on the map. Two years ago, I went down at Easter to visit them—one was still safe ; the second, I was informed, had recently been removed by the occupier of the farm, because it interfered with his ploughing ; the third was actually being broken up, to mend the roads. Canon Greenwell, in his interesting work on British Barrows, mentions a case of a tumulus being destroyed by the Ordnance officers, to serve as the site for a surveying post.

Abury (or Avebury) itself, the year before last, had a very narrow escape. Speaking of it, one of our old antiquaries said that Abury “did as much exceed Stonehenge as a cathedral doth an ordinary parish church.” The monument is not now nearly so perfect, a large number of the gigantic stones having been broken up for the sake of a profit which, after all, did not amount to more than a few shillings :

“The entire series of remains” (truly observes the writer of a recent excellent article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*) “presented such a colossal enigma as it would be difficult to parallel, even at Karnac. The procedure of the Wiltshire farmers with regard to these magnificent stones has been a simple one. A stone eighteen feet square will cover two-thirds of a perch of land and deduct so much from the area suitable for tillage, or rather for grazing, for but little of the land referred to has been brought under the plough. On the other hand, the Sarsen stone is unsurpassed for road metal. The plan adopted, therefore, was to kindle a good fire of faggots, brushwood, and logs on each stone one at a time, and when the fire had burned to the embers, and the stone had been well heated, to throw cold water upon it. By the cracks thus caused, or by the injury done by the fire, the stone was rendered manageable—that is to say, it could be, and was, broken up and carted off to mend the roads.”

Still, even now, there is perhaps no more remarkable monument of the kind in this country, or even in

Europe. The year before last, however, a considerable part of the site was bought by a building society, lotted out in sites for cottages, and actually sold in small plots for this purpose. Fortunately, however—thanks mainly to the efforts of the rector, Mr. King, and of Mr. Kemm—I was able at the last moment to purchase the ground; the villagers being persuaded for a small consideration to exchange their allotments for others in the next field, which, in fact, were just as convenient for their purpose; and thus the threatened destruction of the remains at Abury was fortunately prevented. Now in this case, again, no appreciable advantage would have been gained by the destruction of these antiquities, and yet they were saved, so to say, by a mere accident.

The destruction of the ancient earthworks at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, is another case to which attention has recently been directed. It would, however, occupy too long to mention all similar instances of Vandalism. Let us take one or two counties.

Mr. Warne, in his *Ancient Dorset*, expresses his regret that he should have to record the complete destruction of so many of the ancient monuments of that county. The first case I will mention is that of the Roman camp on Hod Hill, which was “an unique example of Roman military skill.” “Nothing could be finer than its condition about ten years ago; until then it might be seen as in its pristine state, and, making due allowance for the lapse of ages, as perfect as when evacuated by the Roman cohorts. . . . It was indeed so perfect as to render it a model of Roman castrametation.” Since then, however, it has been almost entirely destroyed. Another interesting camp, that of Banbury,

has within the last few years been entirely destroyed. As regards stone monuments, Mr. Warne particularly mentions—1. A stone circle which used to stand between East Lulworth and Povington, but of which not a vestige now remains; 2. A dolmen in Steepleton Field, near Portesham, which has been destroyed; 3. A dolmen on Lytton Down, of which only the cap-stone now remains; 4. A dolmen on West Compton Down, about two hundred yards north of the Via Iceniana; and 5. Another dolmen which used to stand by the roadside between Maiden Newton and Toller Down, but of which now not a vestige remains.

Or let us take Gloucestershire. In that county there are a number of interesting camps, which were described in 1779, nearly a century ago, by Samuel Rudder, in his history of Gloucestershire. They have recently been the subject of an interesting memoir, read before the Cotteswold Club by Mr. Payne. This enables us to compare their present state with that at the close of the last century, and the following appears to be the state of the case—

On Shenborough Hill there was, in Rudder's time, a large camp, fortified with double entrenchments. This seems to have disappeared. Icomb camp has been entirely destroyed; Charlton Abbots camp has been almost levelled; Bourton, on the water camp, has nearly disappeared; Bagendon camp is almost obliterated; Dean camp is gradually being destroyed; of Rodborough Hill camp, interesting from the presence of a number of, probably, ancient British pit dwellings, very little now remains. The Green Ditches were levelled about thirty years ago; the walls of the Roman town of

Corininus, and founded on the site of the British *Caer Cori*, have nearly disappeared; of Horton Castle, the ditch is now scarcely traceable; Hebdown camp seems to have entirely vanished; Little Salisbury is being destroyed by quarrying for stone; Meon Hill camp is greatly suffering by cultivation; a fine camp known as "The Toots," near Oldbury, can now scarcely be traced; the camp at Wick has been destroyed by quarrying for stone; Blaize Castle, described as almost impregnable, is now not easy even to be traced; Coombe Hill camp is a thing of the past; the camp on St. Vincents Rocks at Clifton has been greatly injured, and that at Symonds Yat also. The Castle Tump at Stow Green has been greatly quarried away for limestone; Beachley Green earthworks have disappeared. I have gone through this long list, even at the risk of wearying my readers, to show how great a mistake it is to suppose that these ancient monuments are now religiously preserved.

As regards Ireland, Miss Stokes, a lady than whom no one is better acquainted with Irish archæology, has kindly furnished me with a list—I am sorry to say, a very long list—of ancient remains which have been destroyed during the present century. I will only just mention a few instances. At Clonmacnoise, an Ogham stone has been destroyed, which was peculiarly interesting as being one of, I believe, only three cases in Ireland, where the inscription in Oghams was accompanied by one in Roman characters.

The so-called Palace of Emania, near Armagh, has been entirely destroyed; and when Dr. Petrie remonstrated with the owner for removing a national historical

monument, that gentleman replied, that Ireland "had no history."

The great Rath or pagan fort of Kilbannon, built on the conversion of the native chief by St. Patrick, was still in part visible in 1826, but has now entirely disappeared.

The ruins on Holy Island, in Loch Derg, are rapidly perishing. These buildings were erected by King Brian Boru, and, from an architectural, as well as an historical point of view, were of great interest.

At Inismurray, the early Christian inscriptions, many of which were still perfect in 1834, have all been destroyed, except one.

Perhaps I could give no more striking or more convincing fact than this, that while in the year 1800 there were 118 round towers in Ireland, more than forty of them have since perished.

So strongly, indeed, do archæologists feel the necessity for some legislation, that I think I may say every archæological society in England, Scotland, and Ireland has petitioned the House of Commons on the subject. Lastly, I will quote the following letter with which I was honoured by the late Lord Stanhope, then, as for so many years, President of the Society of Antiquaries, and which he authorised me to read in the House of Commons :

"GROSVENOR PLACE, *February 1, 1873.*

"MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

As President of the Society of Antiquaries, I am able to assure you how frequently the attention of that society has been invited to the wanton destruction of prehistoric and other early

remains amongst us. This destruction is the more to be lamented, since in many cases such remains are the only records extant of the early races which appear to have inhabited this island.

“Among very many instances of the kind I might mention the havoc among the stone monuments of Dartmoor; the case of the so-called ‘Cheese-wring,’ one of the most interesting of the Cornish antiquities, the destruction of which is now imminent if not by this time accomplished; and the case also of Dorchester, not the county town, but the village of that name in Oxfordshire, where the undoubted British earthworks have all but disappeared.

“To appeals upon these subjects the Council of the Society of Antiquaries have always responded with alacrity, but seldom with success. No machinery is provided by the Legislature, no funds are placed at the disposal of the society, by which the mischief can be stayed. The result is that our stone monuments are used as quarries, and our earthworks are levelled by the plough. I am therefore rejoiced to learn that you design to bring forward this question, and I hope that the members of the House of Commons, notwithstanding their other great and manifold duties, may be willing to give it their attention.

“Believe me, yours faithfully,

“STANHOPE.”

But though these ancient national monuments are so rapidly disappearing, yet they are seldom destroyed because they interfere with any important improvement, or with any great engineering work; on the contrary, they are generally demolished for the most paltry and trifling reasons. The tumuli, or burial-mounds, though each was, as a rule, the burial-place of one chief, contained not only his remains, but also those of the animals killed in his honour, and I fear, in many cases, of the wives and slaves sent to accompany their lord and master to the land of spirits. Under these circumstances, the earth of which they were composed is often somewhat richer than the average, and has frequently been carted away, therefore, to be used as manure; while



the megalithic monuments are broken up, to serve as gateposts, or even to mend the roads.

The round tower of Dungiven was destroyed on account of an idea that treasure was concealed in its foundations. That of Drumcliffe was taken down about the year 1840, in order that the materials might be used in building a bridge. Dun Aengus is being pulled to pieces, in pursuit of rabbits. St. Manchan's Church, or Tempul Manchain as it is called, was not long ago surrounded by curious archaic cells, supposed to have been those of early Christian anchorites, but they were all destroyed a few years ago by an economical Scotch tenant. The remains of the church and round tower on Ireland's Eye, near Dublin, which had a special interest, because the tower was connected with the church, the square base serving as the chancel, was taken down by the proprietor about thirty years ago, lest it should fall upon his cows.

In some cases, even an excess of reverence has proved fatal; as in the case of an unfortunate descendant of the Prophet, who was put to death in order that a shrine might be erected in his honour. In the same way, the carvings on the base of the great cross at Clonmacnoise have been worn away by the pious peasantry, who think that if they can stretch their arms round the sacred symbol, some special blessing will be secured. In another case, a great Irish nobleman had given orders to build a wall round a field which contained the remains of Con O'Neill's castle at Castlereagh, his object being to protect the ruins; but the agent pulled down the old castle, and used the stones to make the wall.

The last case which I will mention is of a different

character. Some of the churches on the west coast of Ireland had life-size wooden figures of saints placed beside the altar. One of these, in the island of Inismurray, though obviously early Christian, was taken about thirty years ago by a Protestant missionary for a Pagan idol. Accordingly, he took it out to sea, and threw it overboard. Fortunately, however, in this case, as I am informed, the attempt failed, for the sacred image rose to the emergency, swam boldly to shore, and quietly resumed its old place.

It is, I fear, only too evident that, if we wish to preserve these monuments, some steps must be taken. What is it, then, that we suggest?

The principle of our bill is, that if the owner of one of these ancient monuments wishes to destroy it, he should be required, before doing so, to give the nation the option of purchase at a fair price. For this purpose, the Act proposes to create a body of Commissioners, especially charged with the protection of our ancient monuments.<sup>1</sup> The Commission proposed would consist of the Enclosure Commissioners, the Master of the Rolls, the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the President of the Royal Irish Academy, the Keeper of the British Antiquities at the British Museum, and seven nominated Commissioners.

The seven Commissioners originally suggested in the bill were the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Colonel Lane Fox, Mr. John Evans, and Mr. John Stuart.

<sup>1</sup> The Government have now suggested that the working of the bill should be entrusted to the Trustees of the British Museum.

In the schedule of the bill is a list of some of the best preserved and most typical examples of the various classes of monuments, approved, as regards England and Wales, by the Society of Antiquaries; as regards Ireland, by the Royal Irish Academy; and as regards Scotland, by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Moreover, by the 3rd clause of the bill, the Commissioners are empowered, on giving proper notice, to apply the Act to any British, Celtic, Roman, or Saxon remains, which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, are of national interest, and which are not situate in any park, garden, or pleasure-ground.

After receiving such notice, if the owners or occupiers wish to destroy or injure such a monument, they must first communicate with the Commissioners, who would thus have an opportunity of acquiring or preserving it. The price to be paid would be determined under the provisions of the Defence Act passed in 1860, with reference to land required for the purposes of fortification. These provisions have been already sanctioned by Parliament, and it is therefore unnecessary to enlarge upon them. Of course, if the Commissioners do not act on these powers, the owner or occupier will be free to deal with the monument as he pleases. It will be observed, therefore, that, unless the owner of any monument wishes to injure or destroy it, this bill will not in any way interfere with him. It deprives him of nothing but the childish pleasure of destruction. It is merely applying the principles already sanctioned by Parliament in the Defence Act, and, indeed, in every railway bill. The bill also provides that the Commissioners shall report annually to

Parliament as to the state of the monuments under their control.

Thus, then, the bill really does not give any power of interference, unless the owner of a monument desires to destroy or deface it. In such case we ask that the nation, acting through Commissioners, should have an option of purchase, the price to be paid being determined under the Fortification Act.

Some, I know, have thought that we should go further, and claim for the nation the direct and immediate right of purchase. For my own part, however, I confess that it seems to me wiser not to interfere, unless the necessity should really arise ; but I think it must be admitted that if we are to endeavour at all to protect these monuments, we can hardly take a more moderate course than that proposed in the bill.

What, then, are the objections to the bill? In the first place, there are certain legal and technical objections with reference to which there has been some little difference of opinion. It would be quite out of place for me to discuss them here. All I will say is, that the bill was drawn by Mr. Wright, a most skilful and experienced authority, and that in bringing it in, I was associated with the Right Honourable the Recorder of London (Mr. Russell Gurney), Mr. Osborne Morgan, and Mr. Beresford Hope.<sup>1</sup> As, then, it is supported by such eminent legal authorities, I have every confidence that it will stand the test of examination. Even, however, if on some points it should be found capable of

<sup>1</sup> Since Mr. Russell Gurney's lamented death, Sir Richard Wallace has joined us.

improvement, these are details which do not affect the essence of the question.

The next objection is, that the monuments included in the schedules are not well selected. To that our answer is, that the schedule for England has the approval of the Society of Antiquaries, that for Ireland of the Royal Irish Academy, and that for Scotland of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Moreover, if these schedules are incomplete, it would be easy to amend them in committee.

But then we are told that we ought to include mediæval monuments. The monuments dealt with in the bill, however, differ from mediæval monuments in requiring merely to be let alone. No appreciable annual outlay would be required for their protection. Mediæval monuments, on the contrary, require constant supervision and frequent repairs, entailing large expenses, and involving æsthetic questions, with reference to which there are great differences of opinion. To distribute funds between the different districts, to determine which ancient abbeys, churches, or castles should be repaired or restored, and in what manner, would open questions of extreme difficulty—questions which I am sure no central Commission could satisfactorily determine.

The next objection is that of expense. Very little consideration is required to show that the expense need not be large. The monuments dealt with by the bill require no repairs. Moreover, the three months' grace accorded by the bill would probably give time for local public feeling to effect all that was necessary. My belief is, that during this time private purchasers would come forward, and that any action

on the part of the Commissioners would but seldom be required. But suppose it to be otherwise. Imagine even the extravagant hypothesis that the Commissioners bought up every monument scheduled in the bill. Why, even then, it would only be an investment of public money in land which would pay—say 2 per cent. At the worst, there need be only a small loss of interest.

Another objection made to the proposed bill is, that too much power is given to the Commissioners. We are willing, say some objectors, “to preserve all monuments of real interest, but you must make a list once for all. Ancient monuments do not grow.” It is of course true that ancient monuments do not grow, but the discovery of an inscription, the removal of overlying soil, may bring to light points of interest not now known, nay, even monuments themselves, of whose existence we are not at present aware. We think the character of the Commission to be a sufficient guarantee that the powers entrusted to it will be exercised with discretion and moderation. The Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the other eminent Commissioners who are proposed, seem to us little likely to interfere wantonly or vexatiously with the rights of property. Moreover, we must remember that the powers of the Commission are limited by their pecuniary resources. They can only spend such money as the Treasury and Parliament may grant them; and though I doubt not that Parliament would be liberal, it is not likely to be lavish.

Still, if it be thought desirable, the power of applying the bill to monuments not in the schedule might be guarded in some additional manner.

This, however, again is rather a criticism on points of detail than an argument against the principle of the bill. The only member of Parliament who in the recent discussion really objected to the bill, as a whole, was Lord Francis Hervey. Lest I should be supposed to misrepresent him, I will quote the noble lord's own words :

"What [said Lord Francis] he did not understand, was that Englishmen should be called upon to exhibit enthusiasm for the monuments of that barbarous and uncivilised race whom our forefathers took the trouble to expel from the country. (Cries of 'Oh !') Our forefathers came from beyond the sea, and drove out those wretched people. (Renewed cries of 'Oh !') Well, if they did not, where were they? (Laughter.) And were we now to be reinvaded by the Celtic race in this country? He begged to explain, for the satisfaction of the honourable member for Louth and his compatriots from the other side of the Channel, that in speaking of the Celtic race he meant the Cimri. He did not quarrel with his Irish friends for wishing to preserve their round towers and mounds. What he objected to was their preserving ours—(laughter)—the relics of the ancient Britons, which were destitute of all art and of everything that was noble or that entitled them to preservation. ('Oh !') These were reasons why, in his opinion, this bill was a bad one."

In my opinion, these are the very reasons why the bill is a necessary one. The speech of Lord F. Hervey against the bill seems to me a strong argument in its favour. If Lord Francis, who passed through Eton and Oxford with great distinction, and enjoyed an education which is supposed to imbue a man with historical lore and a classical spirit, considers that these monuments are "destitute of all art and of everything that is noble or that entitles them to preservation," what can be expected from those who have not had the advantage of a university education? If a noble lord and member of Parliament, educated at our great seats of learning,

entertains such opinions, how can we be surprised that farmers and agricultural labourers are ready to destroy these ancient remains, if they can thereby make a few shillings ?

Lord Francis denies that these monuments have any artistic beauty, any sentimental associations, or that they are national in their character. Of course it is a matter of feeling ; but to me, I confess, they appear to possess a beauty of their own ; their very mystery seems to me most suggestive ; and I am surprised that any Englishman should deny that Stonehenge and Abury, Kits Coty House, and Silbury Hill, are monuments of national interest. Scotchmen, I am sure, would regret the Ring of Brogar, the Burgh of Moussa, or the Dun of Dornadilla ; no Irishman but would mourn if the Giant's Ring near Belfast, the great tumulus of New Grange, or the ruins on the hill of Tara, were to be destroyed.

We are told that these remains have taught us nothing. To a great extent, no doubt, we have still their lessons to learn. It is, however, scarcely true that they have taught us nothing ; on the contrary, they have thrown a flood of light on the history of the Past : and perhaps no branch of science has made more progress of late years than has Prehistoric Archæology.

In this matter, I am sorry to say, we are behind other countries. Holland, for instance, has purchased the greater number of megalithic monuments remaining in that country ; and Denmark has in the same manner acquired for the nation a number of the most typical examples. In Italy, there is a general law under which land can be taken, if required for any public purpose. The Turkish Government have recently purchased a



portion of the Hill of Hissarlik, supposed by many to be the site of Troy, and placed it at the disposal of Dr. Schliemann.

The Egyptian Government take an enlightened care of the monuments of that country, which are under the charge of M. Mariette.

In France, again, there is a National Monuments Commission, to whom a sum of more than £40,000 a year is entrusted; but they have, on the other hand, no compulsory powers. They deal also with mediæval and religious buildings; a system which I think would not work satisfactorily in our country. Our own Government, even now, spend certain sums on archæological objects. The House of Commons itself has always shown a liberal spirit in such matters; it has voted without question considerable amounts to carry on archæological researches in other countries, and gives ungrudgingly the supplies necessary to maintain the British Museum on a scale worthy of a great empire.

No one regrets the sums which have been spent on the Assyrian, Egyptian, and other treasures which adorn our museums; but it is surely remarkable that we should take so much care of the monuments of other nations, and yet entirely neglect those of our own country. Of course, such monuments as Stonehenge and Abury cannot be placed in a museum; they must be protected, if at all, on the spots where they were erected by our forefathers.

Indeed, the principle that it is our duty to maintain national monuments has already been admitted. In the 25th clause of the Irish Church Act—a clause passed, I believe, without any difference of opinion in the House

—it was enacted that when any church or ecclesiastical building deserved to be

“maintained as a national monument by reason of its architectural character or antiquity, the Commissioners shall by order vest such church, building, or structure in the Secretary of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, to be held by such Secretary, his heirs and assigns, upon trust for the Commissioners of Public Works, to be preserved as a national monument, and not to be used as a place of public worship; and the Commissioners shall ascertain and by order declare what sum is, in their judgment, required for maintaining as national monuments the churches, buildings, or structures so vested, and shall pay such sum accordingly to the said Secretary, to be held upon trust for the said Commissioners, and to be applied by them in maintaining the said churches, buildings, and structures.”

In the last volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Payne relates the result of an attempt to see the Long Stone, a fine monolith described in the last century by Rudder in his *History of Gloucestershire*. On inquiring of a farm labourer the way, the man replied, “Ah, sir, you be too late.” It had just been blown up with gunpowder, broken to pieces, and thrown away because it cumbered the ground. Every year, indeed, some of these monuments are destroyed. If then we are to take any steps for their preservation, let us do so before it is “too late.”

Before I conclude, I will mention one other fact, which, I think, will not be without interest. Though we may in many cases infer Shakespeare’s opinions, there is, I believe, only one, in which we have the actual expression of his own sentiments; and it is one bearing directly on the object of this bill. It appears that there was in his day a question of enclosing some land near

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 1876, p. 502.

Welcombe, on part of which was an old camp, known as the Dingles, and commanding a ford over the river near Stratford-on-Avon. The corporation sent an agent named Greene, who was a cousin of Shakespeare, up to London, to protect their interests. Parts of Greene's diary are preserved, and under the date of the 1st of September, 1615, is an entry, that his cousin Shakespeare told him he could not "beare the enclosing of Welcombe." This is, I believe, the only authentic expression of Shakespeare's opinions which has come down to us. In it, as in so many other cases, he strikes a chord which goes straight to the hearts of his fellow-countrymen.

To sum up then, it is only too clear that our ancient monuments are rapidly disappearing; that they are destroyed for the slightest, the most paltry, the most trivial of reasons; that they might be preserved at a very small expense, and by the application of principles sanctioned over and over again by Parliament. They constitute the unwritten history of our country, in times long gone by; some of them are connected with important events in our annals; the origin of others is lost in the remote past. In the name of all those who love and reverence the past, and the memory of our ancestors, we ask the House of Commons, by passing this bill, to affirm the principle that the preservation of these monuments is a national duty, and that they ought not to be allowed to perish.

## SCHEDULES.

## I.--ENGLAND AND WALES.

	County.	Parish.
The tumulus and dolmen, Plas Newydd, Anglesea . . . . .	Anglesea	Llandedwen
The tumulus known as Wayland Smith's Forge . . . . .	Berkshire	Ashbury.
Uffington Castle . . . . .	"	Uffington.
The stone circle known as Long Meg and her Daughters, near Penrith . . . . .	Cumberland	Addingham.
The stone circle on Castle Rigg, near Keswick . . . . .	"	Crosthwaite.
The stone circles on Burn Moor . . . . .	"	St. Bees.
The stone circle known as The Nine Ladies, Stanton Moor . . . . .	Derbyshire	Bakewell.
The tumulus known as Arborlow Hob Hurst's House and Hut, Bastow Moor . . . . .	"	"
Minning Low . . . . .	"	"
Arthur's Quoit, Gower . . . . .	Glamorganshire	Brassington.
The tumulus at Uley . . . . .	Gloucestershire	Llanridian.;
Kits Coty House . . . . .	Kent	Uley.
Danes Camp . . . . .	Northamptonshire	Aylesford.
Castle Dykes . . . . .	"	Hardingstone.
The Rollrich Stones . . . . .	Oxfordshire	Farthingston.
The ancient stones at Stanton Drew . . . . .	Somersetshire	Little Rollright.
The chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton, Wellow . . . . .	"	Stanton Drew.
Cadbury Castle . . . . .	"	Wellow.
Cæsar's Camp . . . . .	Surrey	South Cadbury
Mayborough, near Penrith . . . . .	Westmoreland	Wimbleton.
Arthur's Round Table, Penrith . . . . .	"	Barton.
The group of stones known as Stonehenge . . . . .	Wiltshire	"
Old Sarum . . . . .	"	Amesbury.
The vallum at Abury, the Sarcen stones within the same, those along the Kennet Road, and the group between Abury and Beckhampton . . . . .	"	Abury.
The long barrow at West Kennet, near Marlborough . . . . .	"	West Kennet.
Silbury Hill . . . . .	"	Abury.
The dolmen (Devil's Den), near Marlborough . . . . .	"	Fyfield.
Barbury Castle . . . . .	"	Ogbourne St. Andrews and Swindon.

## II.—SCOTLAND.

	County.	Parish.
The Bass of Inverury . . . .	Aberdeenshire	Inverurie.
The vitrified fort on the Hill of Noath . . . . .	"	Rhynie.
The pillar and stone at Newton-in-the-Garioch . . . . .	"	Culsalmond.
The circular walled structures called "Edin's Hall," on Cockburn Law . . . . .	Berwickshire	Dunse.
The British walled settlement enclosing huts, at Harefaulds in Lauderdale . . . . .	"	Lauder.
The Dun of Dornadilla . . . .	Sutherlandshire	Durness.
The sculptured stone called Suenos Stone, near Forres . .	Elgin	Rafford.
The cross slab, with inscription, in the churchyard of St. Vigean	Forfarshire	St. Vigean.
The British forts, on the hills, called "The Black and White Catherthuns" . . . . .	"	Menmuir.
A group of remains and pillars, on a haugh at Clava, on the banks of the Nairn . . . . .	Inverness	Croy and Dalcross.
The Pictish towers at Glenelg .	"	Glenelg.
The cairns, with chambers and galleries partially dilapidated .	Kirkcudbrightshire	Minnigaff.
The Catstane, an inscribed pillar	Linlithgow	Kirkliston.
The Ring of Brogar and other stone pillars, at Stennis in Orkney, and the neighbouring pillars . . . . .	Orkney	Firth and Stennis.
The chambered mound of Maeshowe . . . . .	"	"
The stones of Callernish . . . .	Ross	Uig.
The Burgh of Clickamin . . . .	Shetland	Sound.
The Pictish tower at Mousa, in Shetland . . . . .	"	Dunrossness.
The inscribed slab standing on the roadside leading from Wigton to Whithorn, and about a mile from Whithorn . . . . .	Wigtonshire .	Whithorn.
Two stones, with incised crosses, on a mound in a field at Lagangairn . . . . .	"	New Luce.
The pillars at Kirkmadrine . .	"	Stoneykirk.

## III.—IRELAND.

	County.	Parish.	Barony.
The remains of Rathmore of Moylinny . . . . .	Antrim	Donegore	Upper Antrim.
The earthen enclosure and mounds called the Navan Fort, Creveroe, and the King's Stables . . . . .	Armagh	Eglish	Armagh.
Stone monuments and groups of sepulchral cists in Glen Maulin . . . . .	{ Donegal	Glencolumbkille.	Banagh.
The earthen enclosure and cromlech called the Giant's Ring, near Ballylessan . .			
The earthen fort at Downpatrick (Dunkeltair) . .	Down	Drumbo	Upper Castlereagh.
The earthen fort near Moira .	"	Downpatrick	Lecale.
Stone structures called Dun Angus, Dun Onaght, Dun Eochail, Dubh Cahir, and other similar remains . .	"	Moira	Lower Iveagh.
Stone structure called Dun Conor . . . . .	Galway	Inismore	Aran.
Stone structure called Staigue Fort . . . . .	"	Inismaan	"
The earthen mound at Castle-town (Dun Dealga) . . .	Kerry	Kilcrogham	Dunkerron.
The earthen mound at Greenmount . . . . .	Louth	Castletown	Upper Dundalk.
The stone monument at Ballyna . . . . .	"	Kilsaran	Ardee.
Cairns and stone circles at Moytura . . . . .	Mayo	Kilmoremoy	Tyrawly.
The tumuli, known as New Grange, Knowth and Dowth .	"	Cong	Kilmaine.
The earthworks on the Hill of Tara . . . . .	Meath	Monknewton and Dowth	{ Upper Slane.
The earthworks at Teltown (Taltin) . . . . .	"	Tara	
The earthworks at Wards-town (Tlaghta) . . . . .	"		Skreen.
The tumuli on the hills called Slieve na Calliagh . . .	"	Teltown	Upper Kells.
The cairn at Heapstown . .	"	Athboy	Lune.
Sepulchral remains at Carrowmore. The cairn called Miscaun Mave or Knocknarea .	Sligo	Loughcrew	Fore.
The cave containing Ogham inscribed stones at Drumloghan . . . . .	"	Kilmacallan	Tirerrill.
The stone monument called the Catstone and cemetery on the hill of Usnagh.	"	Kilmacowen	Curbury.
	Waterford	Stradbally	Decies-without-Drum.
	Westmeath	Killare	Rathconrath.

## X.

### *EGYPT.*

WHILE at Constantinople, in the year 1871, we had the good fortune to meet His Excellency Nubar Pacha, then Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Khedive, who pressed us most hospitably to visit Egypt, promising to do all in his power to make our stay there profitable and pleasant,—an invitation far too tempting to be resisted. To him, and to the Khedive, our warm acknowledgments are due for their great kindness and hospitality, which enabled us to see the ancient monuments of Egypt to the greatest advantage. I do not, however, propose so much to give you a personal narrative, as to endeavour to bring before you, as far as possible, the present state of our knowledge as regards Ancient Egypt, and to give you some idea of the evidence upon which it rests. Interesting as it is from various points of view, the civilisation of Egypt is peculiarly so from its great antiquity.

The early progress of Egypt is no doubt due to the physical condition of the country. The remark of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus that Egypt is the gift of the Nile, is as true, politically, as it is geographically. Not only has the river created the valley, and then filled

it with deep rich soil, but it yearly covers the land with a fresh layer of fertile earth. The very dryness and barrenness of the hills by which the valley is bounded constitutes an advantage, since it has prevented them from ever becoming the strongholds of robber chiefs. But the current of the Nile is powerful, and under ordinary circumstances, it would be very difficult for boats to ascend the river. Its utility would, therefore, be greatly diminished, but for the fact that during a large part of the year there is a north wind so strong as to carry boats up the river. Thus, the Nile becomes doubly useful; those who wish to ascend have only to set their sails, while those who wish to descend have but to furl them again, and float with the stream.

These circumstances, so favourable to agriculture and to commerce—to civilisation in its more material aspects—have not, however, in the long run, tended to independence and liberty. For ages, the population has been under the complete control of their rulers, and that control has generally been exercised by foreigners. Ethiopians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks have successively ruled the country, and it is almost a question whether, in all the long course of Egyptian history, we have any instance of a truly national dynasty.

The same circumstances have rendered possible those great works of the temples, pyramids, obelisks, and statues, which are still among the greatest, as they are the most ancient, monuments of human power. They could only have been constructed in a rich and fertile country, where the whole surplus labour of a numerous and frugal people was at the absolute disposal of one will.



At present a great part of the occupation of the population, consists in raising the Nile water, so that it may irrigate the land, a process which is effected in a very primitive manner.

For our knowledge of Egyptian history, we are principally indebted to Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 284—246). He wrote in Greek, and derived his information from the official records preserved in, and inscribed on, the temples. Unfortunately this work has perished, and we know it only from extracts quoted by other ancient authors. These fragments differ in many respects from the accounts given by Herodotus and Diodorus, but the inscriptions on the monuments themselves have tended to confirm the statements of Manetho. According to him, Egypt was governed by thirty-one successive dynasties, commencing with Menes, who lived about five thousand years (5,004) before Christ. No wonder that a chronology so extended, so much at variance with that which appears to be indicated in the Pentateuch, should have been received with distrust.

No sufficient reason, indeed, existed for doubting the good faith of Manetho, but it was suggested that though his statements were correct, some of the dynasties might have been contemporaneous; one set of kings, for instance, governing at Memphis, while another reigned at Thebes. The fifth and sixth dynasties, for example, have been regarded as contemporaneous. In this manner, some high authorities have brought down the date of Menes to 2,700 B.C. Without pretending to set my opinion against theirs, it seems to me that the arguments which M. Mariette, while expressing

himself with great reserve, has brought forward in support of Manetho are very strong. He points out that none of the dynasties<sup>1</sup> which we know to have been contemporary, are given by Manetho as successive. For instance, while Manetho's twenty-first dynasty governed at Tanis, Thebes was under the independent rule of a dynasty of high priests, which does not figure in Manetho's list. Similarly, native princes ruled at Thebes during the time of the Shepherd Kings, but are not included by Manetho as one of his dynasties. Again, it is probable that during the time of Bocchoris, Egypt was governed by various petty sovereigns.

While, then, there were no doubt at various times contemporaneous monarchies in Egypt, Manetho appears, so far as our present information goes, to have in every case selected that which he regarded as the legitimate authority. If he had not done so, he would, in fact, instead of thirty-one dynasties, have recorded at least twice as many. Moreover, we must remember that the early writers who followed Manetho, would certainly have pointed out this great fallacy in his calculations, if, in fact, he had fallen into so serious an error.

Again, those who have adopted the hypothesis of contemporary dynasties, have generally considered that the fifth ruled at Elephantine, while the sixth held Memphis. If that were so, the monuments of the fifth dynasty ought not to be found in the territory of the sixth, nor those of the sixth in that of the fifth. But the monuments of the fifth dynasty occur not only at Elephantine, but also at Saqqarah, near Memphis; while

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Aperçu de l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 118.

those of the sixth are to be met with also at Elephantine. In the same way, the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties have been regarded as synchronous, the former being Theban, the latter Tanite; but here, again, the monuments contradict the hypothesis, for colossal statues of the thirteenth dynasty are found also in Lower Egypt. It is evident, therefore, that there are strong reasons against the view which would shorten Egyptian history, as recorded by Manetho, by the hypothesis of contemporary dynasties.

I have already mentioned that the antiquities of Egypt, so far as they go, support the statements of Manetho. It is of course impossible, in a single lecture, to bring out the force of this argument, but I will refer very briefly to some of the reasons in its favour. The first piece of evidence which I will mention is the tablet of Sakkarah, now in the museum of Boulak. It was discovered in the tomb of Tounar-i, a priest who lived in the time of Rameses II. The Egyptians were brought up in the hope that if they behaved well they would in the next world be admitted to the society of the kings; and Tounari is here supposed to be receiving this reward of virtue. Fifty-eight kings, whose names are given in order, receive and welcome him to the abodes of bliss. These fifty-eight kings did not rule consecutively, and we do not exactly know on what principle they were selected; but the names confirm the lists given by Manetho.

A second monument of great importance was discovered in the temple of Karnak, and is now at Paris. It represents Thothmes III. (eighteenth dynasty) doing homage to sixty-one of his predecessors. Here, again,

a selection only is given, and we do not know on what principle that selection was made.

Thirdly ; the tablet of Abydos, now in the British Museum, represents Rameses II. sacrificing to fifty of his predecessors. Unfortunately, twenty of the names are more or less mutilated, and the commencement especially, is destroyed.

Fourthly ; the researches of M. Mariette have more recently brought to light, also at Abydos, a still more interesting and perfect tablet, in the temple of Sethi I. On this tablet Sethi and Rameses are represented as doing homage to their predecessors. Sethi is represented reciting a hymn, while his son Rameses, as a boy, holds two torches. In front of them are three rows of cartouches, containing the names of kings. The lower row consists of mere repetitions of Sethi's own name, but the two upper ones contain seventy-six names, beginning with Menes, and ending with Sethi himself. It is supposed that those kings have been selected, who were more especially connected with Abydos.

The fifth authority which I must mention is the celebrated papyrus of Turin. Unfortunately, it is very incomplete, having been broken into no less than one hundred and sixty-four pieces. It belongs to the time of Rameses II., and as it appears to have been an official document, would, if complete, have been almost conclusive. The state to which it was reduced before its true value was discovered has, of course much diminished that value.

Up to the time of Moses, in the fifteenth century B.C., most authorities agree ; but beyond this time, the dates given in the marginal references of our Bible

do not tally with those arrived at by students of Egyptian chronology. We must, however, remember that the dates given in the Septuagint differ by no less than 1,400 years from those in our version; and it is probable that Archbishop Usher, by whom our dates were fixed, would have been of a very different opinion, if he had had the benefit of modern discoveries. It is supposed, by the best authorities, that Abraham's visit to Egypt took place during the thirteenth dynasty, which would make it about 2,800 B.C., according to Mariette, 2,600 B.C. according to Bunsen. In the marginal notes, the date is given as 1,900 B.C. There seems to be an insuperable difficulty in this date, at least for those who still regard the flood as general, when taken in conjunction with that of 2,350 B.C., assigned to the flood, and 2,250 B.C. to the dispersion. Egypt, at the time of Abraham, was a rich and prosperous kingdom. It is, however, incredible that in the space of 350 years, mankind should have multiplied to such an extent, and should have formed important monarchies. Thus, then, we find in the Bible itself internal evidence that the usually received chronology is too short. Without wishing to attach any value to my opinion, recognising all the difficulties of the case, and fully believing that future discoveries will in many cases correct our present views, I am disposed to follow M. Mariette in accepting, on the whole, the statements of Manetho, confirmed as they are by the evidence as yet obtained from the monuments themselves, and especially by the two tablets of Abydos; the list in the Chamber of Ancestors at Karnak; the tablet of Saqqarah; and the papyrus of Turin. M. Mariette himself, however,

admits that the evidence is not at present sufficient to justify any absolute conclusion.

We may fairly hope that the researches now being carried on by the Egyptian Government will throw further light on this most interesting subject.

Having, then, given very briefly my reasons for following the authority of Manetho, reasons taken principally from M. Mariette's excellent *Aperçu de l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, I will now say a few words on the history itself, relying, in the main, on the same authority. The first dynasty commences with Menes, whose name is met with on several monuments, but none of whose works are now known; at least none can be at present identified. In fact, the monuments of the three first dynasties are very rare. The fourth, on the contrary, contained Cheops, or Khoufou, Chephren, and Mycerinus, the builders of the three great pyramids. The museum of Boulak contains an admirable statue of Chephren.

Among the most celebrated monarchs of the fifth dynasty are Queen Nitocris, and Apappus. The name of the latter occurs at Assouan; in the provinces of Esneh, and Keneh; at Saqqarah; on the rocks of Wady-Maghara; and at Hamamat, on the route which leads from Keneh to Cosseir on the Red Sea.

The twelfth dynasty is one of the most brilliant periods of Egyptian history, and under the Osirtisens, and Amenemhas, the country appears to have flourished greatly. The daily life of the period is well illustrated in the rock-cut tombs of Beni Hassan. To this period also are supposed to belong the gigantic engineering works at Lake Moëris, by means of which the flow

of the Nile, on which Egyptian prosperity depends, was controlled, and a supply of water reserved for periods of scarcity. To this dynasty also belong the labyrinth, and the obelisk of Heliopolis, so far as we know, the oldest in Egypt ; and as my companion Mr. Grant Duff observed, older even in the time of Moses than any building in Scotland is now.

At the close of the fourteenth dynasty, Egypt was invaded and conquered by a pastoral people from Asia, known as the Hyksos or Shepherds, who occupied the throne for three dynasties. During this period Joseph was carried down into Egypt, and his elevation to power was probably facilitated by the fact, that the then rulers belonged to a pastoral race.

After a time the length of which is uncertain, the Hyksos were expelled by the natives, under the guidance of Ahmes or Amosis, under whom commenced the eighteenth dynasty, one of the most brilliant periods in Egyptian history. Amosis not only raised himself to the throne of Egypt, but conquered Palestine in one direction and Nubia in the other.

Amosis was succeeded by Amenophis I., who was also a great conqueror, and who extended the power of Egypt to Syria and the Soudan. After Amenophis came Thothmes I., who led the Egyptian forces into Assyria. Thothmes I. was succeeded by Thothmes II., at whose death Thothmes III., the heir to the throne, was a minor ; and the power was for some years exercised by his sister Hatasou, an interesting illustration of the position then occupied by women. Hatasou moreover appears to have ruled with dignity and spirit ; to have been by no means the least among the sovereigns of Egypt. At her death

Thothmes III. became sole ruler; he was perhaps the greatest of Egyptian kings, and during his reign the country was in a most prosperous condition. At that time, to use a poetical expression of the period, "Egypt placed her frontiers where she would." His fleet successfully attacked Cyprus; and his kingdom included Abyssinia, Nubia, the Soudan, Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Armenia, besides Egypt proper. The buildings which he erected were both numerous and magnificent. Of the twelve great Egyptian obelisks, Thothmes III. lays claim to no less than one third.<sup>1</sup> To this dynasty also belonged Amenophis III., the Memnon of classical writers, who has left behind him many great buildings, especially at Thebes; where he erected the two great statues, which stood at the entrance of a building, now unfortunately destroyed.

The nineteenth dynasty was also very distinguished. It begins with Rameses I., and includes Sethi I., and Rameses II. "Rameses," a name borne by various Egyptian monarchs, means "tried by Ra."<sup>2</sup> The Sesostris of Herodotus is supposed to have been a confusion of these two kings with Thothmes III. Sethi I. was not only a great warrior, but he constructed a canal, which, reaching from the Nile to the Red Sea, brought the latter into communication with the Mediterranean.

Rameses II. is said to have reigned no less than sixty-seven years, and to have had 170 children. He was a great warrior and a great builder; the Ramesseum at Thebes, and the two temples at Ipsamboul, being among

<sup>1</sup> Including our own Cleopatra's needle, on which his name, easily recognisable by the ball and tortoise, is several times repeated. See the account given by our great Egyptologist, Mr. Birch, in the *Times* for August 7, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> *Aperçu*, 54.



his greatest works. The former contains a statue of the king, seated on his throne ; the largest statue in Egypt, or, I suppose, in the world. It is made of granite from Syrene, and is calculated to weigh 887 tons. Rameses II. is the Pharaoh whose daughter found the infant Moses among the bullrushes, while his successor Menephthah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, whose host perished in the Red Sea. His second name "Miamun" is supposed to have originated the Greek name "Memnon."

The first king of the twentieth dynasty was Rameses III., the builder of the great monument of Medinet Abou at Thebes.

But I must pass on more rapidly. At the close of the twenty-fourth dynasty, Egypt was conquered by the Ethiopians, by whom it was governed for fifty years, from 715 B.C. to 665 B.C., the last king of this dynasty being Tirhakah.

The twenty-sixth dynasty, if less successful in war than some of its predecessors, holds a high place in art and science ; and it is even said that under Necho an expedition was sent southwards, which circumnavigated Africa, and after two years' absence returned to Egypt through the straits of Gibraltar ! He also attempted, though without success, to re-open the canal of Sethi, which had been allowed to close up.

At the end of the twenty-sixth dynasty, about 400 B.C., Egypt was conquered by the Persians under Cambyzes, who behaved with great cruelty, and did his best to destroy the national monuments, but fortunately soon died. After 120 years of subjection, Egypt regained her independence ; but not for long ; in 340 B.C.

she again fell under the Persian yoke, and the race of the Pharaohs came to an end.

Alexander the Great entered Egypt in 332 B.C., and was everywhere received as a deliverer. At his death began the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and with them I must cease this very short and imperfect summary of the longest history in the world. I cannot, however, quit the subject without referring to Cleopatra, one of the most romantic figures in human history. Her crimes, indeed, were great ; but she died like a queen, when she found that she could no longer live as one.

Another famous queen, whose name is associated with Alexandria, was Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who had many of the commanding qualities which distinguished Cleopatra, without her vices. She conquered Lower Egypt about the year 270, but did not retain it long. In the time of Heraclius, about 610, it was again subjected by Chosroes, King of Persia, who held it for ten years.

So much of this history, at least in its earlier portions, depends on the interpretation of hieroglyphics, that it is necessary to say a few words on this subject. In the Middle Ages, hieroglyphics were a sealed book. Thanks, however, to the Rosetta stone, Dr. Young, and Champollion, this is now no longer the case. The Rosetta stone is a decree in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, found, as its name denotes, at Rosetta, and containing an inscription in three characters, hieroglyphic, enchorial, and Greek. To Champollion<sup>1</sup> belongs the merit of discovering that hieroglyphics represented sounds. He observed that whenever the name

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Aperçu*, p. 190.

of Ptolemy occurred in the Greek text, the corresponding place in the Egyptian, contained an oval frame, which he called a cartouche, inclosing a certain group of figures. Thus then, assuming the vowels to be omitted, he was in possession of five letters, P. T. L. M. and S. In a similar manner, from an inscription on an obelisk at Philæ, he obtained the cartouche for Cleopatra, thus testing three of the letters already acquired, and adding to them two others, K and R. Here are the cartouches of Ptolemy, spelt P. T. O. L M A A S.,<sup>1</sup> and of Cleopatra, spelt K l o p t r a s.



PTOLEMY.

p □  
 t ◡  
 o ⌘  
 l ⲗ  
 m ≡  
 a 𓆎  
 a 𓆎  
 s 𓆏



CLEOPATRA.

k ⲕ  
 l ⲗ  
 o ⌘  
 p □  
 t ◡  
 r 𓆎  
 a 𓆎  
 s 𓆏

Having thus obtained the sounds, he found that they represented Coptic words : that, in fact, Coptic is the direct descendant of the ancient Egyptian. Thus, then, the veil which had so long concealed the meaning of

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, *History of Egypt*, i. p. 284.

the hieroglyphics was raised, and the Egyptian monuments, which had been so long silent, once more spoke.

It must not, however, be supposed that even now they can be easily deciphered. In the first place, though there are only twenty-four letters, there are several signs for a, several for b, and so on. In the second place, there are signs for syllables ; thus, a vase stands for "hes," a heart for "het," &c. Again, there are ideographic signs ; a lion standing for a lion : and lastly there are symbolic signs, the vulture signifying "mother" ; an elbow "justice," &c. Then there are signs, not intended to be pronounced ; thus, after the name of a quadruped, it was customary to depict a quadruped's tail ; words relating to thought, love, to everything which concerns the soul, were followed by a man with his hand to his mouth. Lastly, hieroglyphics were sometimes read vertically, and sometimes laterally ; the heads of animals being always turned to the side on which the inscription commences. To read an inscription is, therefore, even now, no easy task.

The early progress made by Egypt in the sciences and arts is evidenced by the derivations of various familiar names. Thus "alchemy" is derived from the Arabic "alchemia," the art of Egypt ; whence also our word chemistry. Paper is from the papyrus of the Nile, and the word parchment, though derived from "Pergamus," in Asia Minor, is connected with Egypt, parchment having been invented to supply the place of papyrus, when export of the latter was prohibited.

Obsidian was first obtained from Nubia, and called after its discoverer, Obsidius. Dimity derives its name from Damietta, and our word carpet is said to be a

corruption of Cairo tapestry, the tapestry of Cairo having been first used for that purpose.

During the Ptolemies the schools of Alexandria were very famous. Erasistratus of Cos, the grandson of Aristotle, has been called "the father of anatomy," and is said to have been the first who perceived the importance of anatomy, as a part of the healing art; though Hippocrates, who lived a century earlier, has also a fair claim to this distinction.

Philostephanus<sup>1</sup> of Cyrene wrote a work on fishes, which appears to be the earliest monograph on record. The earlier philosophers were not paid for their lessons; Aristippus, a pupil of Socrates, is said to have been the first who was so. Subsequently the profession of preceptor was highly remunerated. Panaretus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, received an income of two thousand a year; and Pamphilus, a celebrated artist of Sicyon, is said to have received from every pupil a sum of ten talents, or fifteen hundred pounds a year.<sup>2</sup> In the reign, and at the instance, of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Greek translation of the Bible<sup>3</sup> was made, which, from its being the work of seventy elders, is known as the Septuagint.

To Eratosthenes, also a native of Cyrene, but who became head of the mathematical school at Alexandria, during the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, B.C. 246-221, belongs the honour of being the first to determine the sites of localities by means of the latitude; and, even more than this, of determining the shape and size of the earth itself. This he effected by an ingenious use of the theory of shadows. Thus, he knew by direct

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, ii. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 292.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 331.

measurement that the distance between Alexandria and Syene was 5,000 stadia, and that the former was due north of the latter. Now at noon on the longest day the sun at Syene throws no shadow. He then measured the sun's shadow at noon in Alexandria on the longest day, and thus ascertained the distance between these two cities to be one-fiftieth of the earth's circumference. In this manner he was able to effect immense improvements in the maps which had been hitherto in use.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Mill observes in his *Political Economy* that "the modern art of navigation is an unforeseen emanation, from the apparently abstract researches of the Alexandrian mathematicians."

Hipparchus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philometer (B.C. 164-145), was the first who made a catalogue of the stars. He also determined, more accurately than had been previously possible, the true length of the year, which he found to be somewhat less than 365 days and a quarter. He also discovered what is called the precession of the equinox; that is to say, that the sidereal year, or that which is measured by the stars, is not of exactly the same length as that which is measured by the seasons. Although the addition of an intercalary day every fourth year had been introduced as recently as the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (B.C. 246-221), still his discoveries were condemned by the priests, who maintained that they were opposed to true religion; and when Augustus introduced the Julian year of 365 days and a quarter, so-called after Julius Cæsar, the Egyptians clung to their old system; so that there were actually three systems in use at once, and three new year's days,

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, i. 353.

one about the 18th July, used by the common people ; one on the 29th August, determined by the emperor ; and one movable.

Hero,<sup>1</sup> in the same reign, studied various branches of mechanics and pneumatics, and invented a small machine in which a metallic vessel was turned round and round by means of steam. This, though only a toy, contained therefore the germ of the modern steam engine.

At this period, Alexandria must have been a magnificent city. The Serapium, or temple of Serapis, which was founded by Ptolemy Soter, was said by Ammi-  
anus Marcellinus to be unequalled by any building in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. Of the 700,000 volumes said to have existed in the Alexandrian museum, 300,000 were kept in the Serapium, including the 200,000 which had belonged to Pergamus, and which were presented by Mark Antony to Cleopatra. In this temple Caracalla consecrated the sword with which he boasted that he had murdered his brother Geta. When he died, shortly afterwards, the Egyptians declared that a ball of fire descended from heaven, and consumed this sword, without injuring anything else.<sup>2</sup>

The Serapium was the last stronghold of paganism in Alexandria, and was at length destroyed by the fanatical Christians. For it must be admitted that Christianity, as we see it at Alexandria, presents itself by no means under a favourable aspect. At first, indeed, we meet here, as elsewhere, true martyrs, ready to sacrifice even life itself in the cause of truth. But when Christianity

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, i. 407, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 213, 214.

became dominant, the Christians split up into a number of hostile sects ; turbulent, vindictive, and uncharitable. The Bishops of Alexandria became Civil Governors of the district, and we read of Apollinarius,<sup>1</sup> who belonged to an unpopular sect, when appointed to the See, entering Alexandria in full military dress at the head of his troops ; he then, after entering the cathedral, changed his arms for the patriarchal robes and commenced the service. The Alexandrians immediately began from all sides of the church to pelt him with stones, and he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Three days after, he announced that he was going to read the Emperor's letter, appointing him to the See. Again he was received with showers of stones. But this time he was prepared : his troops were in ambush ; they rushed out on the unarmed crowd, who were without exception put to death, so that the soldiers are said to have waded up to their knees in blood. The principal source of dispute were the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon ; and so high did party spirit run, that we are assured that on one occasion an unclean spirit seized everybody in Egypt, and all the natives lost the use of speech and ran about barking like dogs, while strangers were unaffected. At length an angel appeared, and announced that they were punished for their wickedness in rejecting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. The beautiful and learned Hypatia, the ornament of Alexandria, who was as modest as she was graceful, eloquent, and learned, was attacked by the Christians in the streets, dragged into a church, stripped naked, and murdered with broken tiles, not because she was a

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, ii. 346.



pagan, but because she had more hearers among the Greeks than among the Homooousians, to whom accordingly she became an object of hatred.<sup>1</sup>

Our voyage up the Nile was extremely interesting and delightful. The weather was perfect, and the mornings and evenings most glorious. We got up every morning at sunrise, and read, drew, or talked till towards evening, when we moored for the night, and generally got a walk before dinner. At that time of the year (November) the water of the Nile is very muddy: the banks are well cultivated, and when we were there bore rich crops of sugar-canes, maize, and sorghum, a fine tall cereal, which in the distance looks very like maize. We could always see the hills on one side, generally on both; and the curious brown villages, the palms, the unusual vegetation, the flocks of water-birds, the beautiful skies, and the pleasant company of friends with whom I made the trip, caused the time to pass away with only too much rapidity.

The primitive life of the Egyptian peasantry was full of interest for me. Women grinding their maize with stone querns we saw often and often; in the south we met more than one girl dressed in a leathern fringe and a necklace of beads. The Bishari Arabs whom we saw at Assouan were, in appearance at least, utter and wild savages. In many and many a village and town we passed through, the houses, if such they could be called, were mere mud inclosures, round which were arranged immense mud vessels to hold grain, and these I assure you were in some cases higher and more imposing than the houses themselves. At Edfou, I remember particularly

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, ii. 327.

one evening scene. A man and his wife, not mere wanderers, but, as we were assured, peasant proprietors living on their property, were preparing for the night. The woman was baking a cake of maize for the evening meal, after which the two were about to lie down to rest, side by side on the ground, with a small fire at their feet, and a sloping hurdle to protect their heads.

We always had a guard from the nearest village, keeping watch over us by night. They made themselves a little fire just opposite the vessel, and a very picturesque group they generally were. There is indeed no real danger, but the precaution prevents pilfering; if anything be lost, the district is answerable.

The nights, though cold, were very pleasant; I slept on deck, and used often to get up in the night, and take a stroll by myself on shore in the moonlight, feeling anxious to see Egypt in as many phases as possible.

The month of November is not a favourable time of year for the study of botany in Egypt. Nevertheless we saw many interesting plants. For the first time I met with the date-palm in fruit; the curious branched Dôm palm of the Thebaid; *Cassia senna*, the senna; *Acacia nilotica*, the Sont or gum-arabic tree; *Lawsonia inermis*, which produces the henna with which Eastern women dye their nails; *Zizyphus spina Christi*, said by tradition to have been the material of the crown of thorns; *Cucumis colocynthus*, the colocynth of our medicine chests; *Sesamum orientale*, suggestive of the forty thieves; *Ricinus communis*, the castor-oil plant; the indigo plant; *Asclepias procera*, said to be used in Central Africa for poisoning arrows; the sugar-cane; and many others.

Some of the most celebrated Egyptian plants, as

well as animals, have almost ceased to live there. The papyrus, for instance, has entirely disappeared ; the sacred lotus is found in but very few places ; we could only hear of one. As regards animals, the sacred ibis is now rarely, if ever, seen ; the hippopotamus has entirely disappeared ; and the crocodile is extremely rare, below the first cataract.

The first Egyptian temple which we visited was that of Denderah ; but as, although one of the most perfect, it is of comparatively late date, having been begun under Ptolemy XI. and only finished in the reign of Nero ; and as I shall not be able to describe more than one temple ; it will be better to take an example belonging to the grander, more ancient, and more purely national period of Egyptian history. In the first place, however, it must be observed that the so-called Egyptian temples are of a very different character from those of Greece, or from a modern church. No public worship was celebrated in them ; no instruction was given to the people in the sacred truths of religion ; in fact, the public was carefully excluded, and the temples were surrounded by a thick and lofty wall. They were, in fact, monuments, erected to the honour of God and the king ; to serve as fortresses, as the residence of the priesthood, and of the king who was their head. With the power of the Egyptian monarch, our Bible makes us familiar from our infancy. That of the priesthood, as well as their wealth, was also very great ; and we know that when Joseph purchased for Pharaoh the rest of the land of Egypt, he did not venture to touch that belonging to the priests. It is, however, a striking fact, that in spite of the power and wealth of the ancient

Egyptian priesthood and monarchs, when the fisheries of Lake Moëris were allotted, to provide the perfumes for a queen, and the taxes of the city of Anthylla to pay for her sandal-strings,<sup>1</sup> yet we have not a single specimen, not a vestige, of a ruin of any palace for the one, or of any dwelling for the other. That the houses of the poor should have perished, we can easily understand, for they were probably then, as now, constructed of unburnt brick. But that the dwellings of great monarchs and wealthy high priests should have altogether perished, is almost inconceivable. That the so-called temples were used as fortresses, we have ample evidence in Egyptian history; and must remember that the "Church," as we understand it, is a late development in religious progress. The tendency of barbarous theology is to retain the exclusive favour of their gods. Proselytism has no part in it. To increase the number of devotees, increased the number of claimants, and tended to diminish the efficacy of prayer, to weaken the hope of favour and assistance. The temple itself was at first erected rather as the "House of God," than for the spiritual welfare of man. Even David appears to express this feeling when he says, "See, now I dwell in a house of cedar, but the Ark of God dwelleth within curtains." It appears, then, that the so-called Egyptian temples were the fortified dwellings of the king and the priesthood. In them also were preserved the holy emblems and treasures: from them, on holy days, started the sacred processions.

The early temples were left plain, as, for instance, those near the pyramids, which belong to the fourth

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, i. 172; Euterpe, xcvi.

dynasty ; but in later times the walls were covered with designs and inscriptions. Many of these are most interesting and instructive. One composition however recurs over and over again ; the king makes offerings to the deities, and receives gifts in return.

We may take as an example the great temple of Karnak, now unfortunately in ruins, but perhaps the grandest ruin in the world. The principal entrance is on the north-west side facing the river. An avenue of sphinxes, about 200 feet long, leads to the front gateway, or propylon ; both towers have lost their summit, but one is still 140 feet high. The breadth of the propylon is about 370 feet, and its depth 50 feet. Within is an open court 275 feet by 329, with cloisters on either side, and a double line of columns down the centre, of which only one is now standing. Passing through another propylon, one comes to the grand hall, considered by many the most magnificent of Egyptian monuments. It measures 170 feet by 329, and the lintel stones of the doorway are 40 feet 10 inches in length. The hall itself measures 329 feet by 170, and is supported by a central avenue of twelve columns, each 62 feet high, without counting the plinth and abacus, and 11 feet 6 inches in diameter. At the sides are 122 somewhat smaller columns, each, however, 42 feet 5 inches in height. Another much ruined propylon led to a small court containing originally two obelisks, each about 75 feet in height, one of which has been thrown down and is broken. We now pass through another propylon, into another court, originally surrounded by Osiride columns, and containing two obelisks, of which, however, only one remains standing ; it is 92 feet high. Passing through

another gateway, you enter a large inclosure, in which was the sanctuary, and a variety of other chambers, one of them being the Hall of Ancestors.

This magnificent temple is supposed to have been begun by Osirtesen, of whose work, however, but little now remains. The court of Osiride columns was built by Thothmes I., between 1500 and 1600 B.C. The great obelisks, the largest in the world, were put up by his daughter Hatasou. The Hall of Ancestors, which I have already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> was erected by Thothmes III. The Hall of Columns was added by Sethi I., and considerable additions were made also by Rameses the Great. The sanctuary was repaired by Philip Arridæus.

The hieroglyphics and sculptures, with which almost every part of this wonderful building is decorated, were originally coloured, and in some parts the tints are still very brilliant. The principal historical records are those of Sethi I. and Rameses, whose victories they perpetuate.

To us, however, perhaps the most interesting are those of Shishak, recording his victorious expedition into Palestine; and it was certainly striking to see with our own eyes the cartouche representing "Judah Melek," spelt "Judh-Melk," among the list of the places which he had subdued.

The sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt is not represented on any of the monuments yet discovered; nor can we expect, under all the circumstances, to find it recorded. There are, however, two very interesting Egyptian papyri,<sup>2</sup> in which the Hebrews are mentioned as employed in the construction of the city Rameses. We are told in the first chapter of Exodus that the

<sup>1</sup> Ante, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, ii. 40.

Hebrews "built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses," a passage very interesting in itself, as containing the name Rameses, while the king himself is in the Bible called Pharaoh, the king. Now the construction of Rameses is mentioned in two papyri forming part of the Leyden collection. Of one of these the following is an exact translation. The scribe Kauitsir, writing to his correspondent Bakenptah, says—

"May my lord find satisfaction in that I have executed the commission which he gave me, namely, to hand over the food to the soldiers as well as to the Hebrews,<sup>1</sup> who have carried the stones to the great town of the King Rameses-Miamnu, the lover of truth, and which are consigned to Ameneman, the captain of the police-soldiers. I have handed him the rations monthly according to the excellent instructions my lord gave me."

The contents of the second papyrus are very similar. It is addressed by Keniamen to the "Katena," or superintendent Hui, and the essential portion is as follows:—

"I have followed the instructions which my lord gave me, namely, to give food to the soldiers as well as to the Hebrews who bring the stones," &c.

Some account of the Egyptian religion would naturally follow here, but I feel that it would lead us too far.<sup>2</sup> I cannot, however, resist reading a prayer of the Great Rameses, translated by a friend from the German of M. Brugsch,<sup>3</sup> which is most interesting, both in itself and in its similarity to some of the ancient Hebrew war-songs. The king, in one of his battles, finds himself

<sup>1</sup> I ought, however, to say that the identity of the people here mentioned, with the Hebrews, has been disputed.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Mariette, *Itinéraire*, 54; Sharpe, i. 112; Mariette, *Catalogue*, 20 (corrected in *Itinéraire*, 54).

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, ii. 70.

alone among his enemies, all his own soldiers having fled in panic :—

“ My chariots and my archers,” he exclaims, “ have forsaken me ; not one remains with me to fight for me. Where art thou, Amon, my Father in heaven ? Behold, can the father forget his child ? Have I ever trusted in my own strength ? As I went and as I stood was not my countenance turned towards thee ? Have I not ever done according to the words of thy mouth and followed after thy mighty counsels ? O thou great God of Egypt, destroy the people who surround me. What, then, are these thousands to whom Amon is nothing worth, who know nought of God ? Have I not built innumerable and mighty monuments to thee ? Have I not filled thy sanctuary with captives who have raised to thee a long enduring temple ? Have I not slaughtered hecatombs and sacrificed to thee all manner of sweet-smelling incense ? I have raised to thee thy house of stone and therein have I erected eternal pillars and brought obelisks from Elephantine. For thee have I sent ships down into the sea to bring to thee the works of many nations. Has any other ever so done ? May he be confounded who resists thy will, and may he be exalted who praises thee, oh Amon ! Out of my full heart have I called to thee, oh my Father Amon ! I am surrounded by the numberless people of all lands. Alone am I, no other is with me. My chariots and my archers have fled. Taken hold of by fear, none have heard my case. But Amon is better than myriads of archers, than millions of chariots, than ten thousand chosen youths. There is no help in the sons of men, for Amon stands higher than they.”

It is remarkable, however, that in some of the sacred books the name of the Deity is altogether absent, apparently as being too holy to mention, and is replaced by the expression “ nuk pu nuk,” literally, “ I am that I am ;”<sup>1</sup> or in Hebrew, Jahvah, corrupted into Jehovah ; a name which we most of us associate especially with the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though, as we are told in Exodus vi., the Deity was not known to, or

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, ii. 48.



worshipped by them, under that name, which, indeed, appears to have been of Egyptian origin.

“By some extraordinary catastrophe the statue has been thrown down, and the Arabs have scooped their millstones out of his face, but you can still see what he was—the largest statue in the world. Far and wide that enormous head must have been seen, eyes, mouth, and ears. Far and wide you must have seen his vast hands resting on his elephantine knees. You sit on his breast and look at the Osiride statues which support the portico of the temple, and which anywhere else would put to shame even the statues of the cherubs in St. Peter’s—and they seem pigmies before him. His arm is thicker than their whole bodies. The only part of the temple or palace at all in proportion to him must have been the gateway, which rose in pyramidal towers, now broken down, and rolling in a wild ruin down to the plain.

“Nothing which now exists in the world can give any notion of what the effect must have been when he was erect. Nero towering above the Coliseum may have been something like it; but he was of bronze, and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object; Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world. No one who entered that building, whether it were temple or palace, could have thought of anything else but that stupendous being who thus had raised himself up above the whole world of gods and men.”

But if the dwellings of the ancient Egyptians are unknown to us, the very opposite is the case with their tombs.

One circumstance which has powerfully contributed to their preservation is, that they were habitually situated in the desert. Egypt being, for by far the greater part, a long narrow strip, and the land of great value, it came to pass that the dead were almost invariably buried on the slopes of the hills, above the level of the inundation; and as rain seldom falls, the tombs have therefore not suffered from the action of the river. As the Nile generally runs at the foot of the hills, it

follows that the funeral procession generally had to cross the river, and hence the origin of the fable about the river Styx, with which we are all so familiar. Much, indeed, of the Greek mythology, as Herodotus long ago pointed out,<sup>1</sup> was borrowed from Egypt. Thus it has been suggested that "Themis," the goddess of Justice, was Tha, or Thmei, the Egyptian Justice; from King Menes, came Minos, the lawgiver; Charon, the boatman, and Acheron, the river of Hades; from "Charo" silent; Rhadamanthus, the King of Hades, from "Ra," Sun or King, and "Amenti," the place of the dead; the dog "Cerberus," from the Cabiri, the punishing gods, &c. It is remarkable that the oldest known Greek inscription occurs, not in Greece, but far away in Nubia, where Damearchon and Pelepkus, soldiers of Psammetichus, in the seventh century before Christ, engraved their names, and recorded their expedition on the leg of the great statue of Rameses II. at Abou Simbel.<sup>2</sup>

An Egyptian tomb consisted normally of three parts. An exterior chamber, a perpendicular well, and a subterranean portion, containing the mummy. The outer chamber, or chambers, were generally open, and were visited from time to time by the relatives of the deceased, bringing offerings to the spirit of their ancestor. One of the walls was often pierced by a secret passage, in which were concealed statues of the dead. This passage is known as the "Serdab." The outer chambers were often cut in the rock, as in the celebrated tombs of Beni Hassan, belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty, or about 3000 B.C., according to the chronology of M. Mariette. They are excavated in the

<sup>1</sup> Euterpe, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Sharpe, i. 151.

side of the hill, and look from the river like small oblong holes, as the Nile runs some way from their base. The intermediate plain, not having been flooded that year, was not under cultivation at the time of our visit, and was then only occupied by a few Bedouin tents. The tombs themselves are on one level, having been cut in one of the strata, which from the closeness of its texture, was especially adapted to the purpose. Like all the other grottoes and temples of Egypt, they are clearly imitations of buildings. The columns, for instance, very commonly represent the stalks of water-plants, bound together near the top, for greater strength.

Many of the caves are ornamented with paintings, the colour of which is still quite apparent, though many have been unfortunately destroyed, not by time, but by Man. The personages buried in them were officials, belonging principally to the times of Osirtesen I. and II. In one chamber are represented different trades ; the growth and manufacture of flax, games of various kinds ; agricultural, warlike, and especially hunting scenes, are common ; and in several, the name of each animal is written over it in hieroglyphics, a custom descending perhaps from a period when Art was in its infancy. At Beni Hassan it was quite unnecessary.

In one of these tombs is a scene which was at first supposed to represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren in Egypt ; and it is probably the earliest record of the immigration of an Asiatic pastoral tribe into Egypt ; the tomb was, however, already several hundred years old when Joseph entered that country.

It is striking to find in these chambers so little reference to death. Whether it be that the ancient

Egyptians regarded the future life as a facsimile of the present, or not, the decorations of these tombs represent the incidents of daily life, and are therefore of course most instructive. The deceased is represented in his fields, with his family, hunting, or fishing. Seated in the place of honour, he is surrounded by his wife, his children, his servants, and his pets; in one scene playing a game like our draughts. His wealth is indicated by the animals he possessed—oxen, asses, dogs, antelopes, geese, ducks, and others; but it is curious that no representations of horses, camels, elephants, sheep, cats, or domestic fowls have been found in any of the more ancient Egyptian tombs. In other places, various trades and manufactures are represented. It is remarkable that some of the figures are in perspective, and the execution is very good, though in some cases the artist has written the name over each object represented, probably in accordance with a custom which originated in a ruder period of Art.

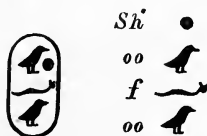
In later tombs, though still very ancient ones, as for instance in that of Sethi I. at Thebes, the style of ornamentation is quite different. The scenes depicted are taken from the next world, not from this one. The reception of the soul in the regions of the dead, the trial and judgment, the divinities of Hades, seem to indicate a complete change in the character of the religion.<sup>1</sup> The Theban tombs have no open outer chambers. In the Delta, the upper portion of the tomb often forms a pyramid,<sup>2</sup> of which those at Gizeh are the most famous, though there is some reason to suppose that the large pyramid at Saqqarah is that of Ouenephes, the fourth

<sup>1</sup> Mariette, *Itinéraire*, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 113.

king of the first dynasty ; in which case it is, so far as we know, the most ancient monument in Egypt, or in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The largest pyramid of all is said to have been that of Asychis,<sup>2</sup> which, however, being built of brick, has entirely disappeared. *The Pyramids*, the three great pyramids, are those of Shoofou, Chephren, and Menkera, or Mycerinus. Shoofou is called Cheops by Herodotus, Chembis by Diodorus, Suphis by Manetho, and Shoofou on the tablets ; all evidently varieties of the same name. Since the date of Cheops, according to Manetho and Mariette, was 4000 B.C., and even, according to the most curtailed chronology, was not less than 2450 B.C., it is interesting to find the statements of historians confirmed by the monument itself. Though the pyramids, unlike the later tombs and temples, do not bear inscriptions or engravings, the name Shoofou



has been found in the great pyramid, on limestone slabs, and in the upper chamber. The length of each side of the pyramid was 756 feet, the height was 480 feet, and is still 460, and the area covered was 571,000 square feet, or an area about equal to that of Lincoln's Inn Fields. The solid contents have been estimated at 85,000,000 cubic feet. The highest tower in Europe, that of Strasbourg, is only 461 feet high : that of St.

<sup>1</sup> The true derivation of the word Pyramid seems to be unknown.

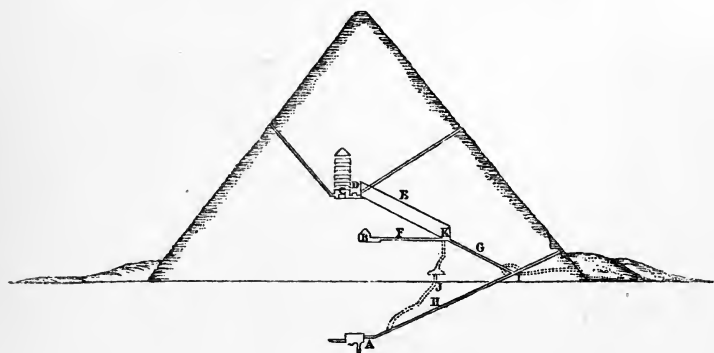
<sup>2</sup> Sharpe, i. 148.

Peter's at Rome 429 feet, our own St. Paul's 404 feet high. Originally the surface of the pyramid was smooth, but the casing stones have almost all been removed, so that the sides are now a succession of stairs. On the summit is a platform, about 30 feet square.

This immense construction was intended entirely as a tomb, and contained a single sarcophagus, placed in the chamber C. The following plan, taken from M. Mariette,<sup>1</sup> shows the interior passages and chambers, for after having remained closed for 5,000 years, the entrance and central chamber were at length discovered by Caliph El Mamoon, son of Haroon Al Rasheed, in the year 820 ; he searching, unfortunately, not for knowledge, but for "hid treasure." Foreseeing that attempts would be made to violate his tomb, Cheops placed the entrance at a point, 23 feet from the centre of the face, and 45 feet from the ground. El Mamoon began, as had been expected, at the centre of one of the sides, and after penetrating with immense labour for about 100 feet, it is said that the undertaking was nearly abandoned in despair, when one day the workmen heard a large stone fall in a hollow passage, only a few feet from them. They pushed on, and broke into the original entrance-passage, at the point where an angular stone had fallen from the roof, revealing that, besides the descending passage IH, there was also another, IG. This one, however, was closed by a granite portcullis, which the Arab workmen were unable to remove, and round which they forced a passage. Up 100 feet of the steep incline, which is at an angle of about  $26^{\circ} 41'$ , 3 feet 5 inches wide, and 3 feet 11 inches high,

<sup>1</sup> *Itinéraire*, p. 101.

they crept on hands and knees to the point  $\kappa$ , where they came on a lofty gallery  $E$ ; at this point a passage  $F$  leads to a chamber  $B$ , known as the Queen's Chamber, which is 18 feet 9 inches long, 17 feet broad, and 20 feet high in the centre. The great gallery  $E$  continues to ascend at an angle of  $26^{\circ} 41'$ . It is 151 feet long, 28 feet high, and nearly 7 feet wide. At the upper end is a vestibule, leading into the great



chamber. This is 34 feet 3 inches long, 17 feet 1 inch broad, and 19 feet 1 inch high, and, as is shown in the plan, not exactly in the centre of the pyramid. The roof is flat, and beautifully constructed. The sarcophagus, entirely devoid of hieroglyphics and ornaments, still remains in the chamber, but unfortunately we have no record of what was found in it. Above this chamber are several others, probably intended to take the pressure off the roof. There are also two air passages going from the sides. From the point  $\kappa$  also starts a well, leading into a passage which joins the first descending passage, and which was probably left as an exit for the workmen, after

they had closed up the passage I K. For the whole object of these curious arrangements was evidently to prevent the discovery of the principal chamber C.

We have seen that the only entrance was 45 feet from the ground and 23 from the centre of the face. But supposing it to be entered? The passage H was filled with blocks which had to be removed. The intruders would be led to the underground chamber A, which according to the analogy of Egyptian tombs ought to have contained the interment. Even, however, if this deception were suspected, there was nothing to show that the ascending passage G joined the entrance passage at L. Lastly, supposing this discovered, the explorer would be naturally led to the chamber B.

M. Mariette supposes that the enlarged passage E was intended to hold blocks, with which the passage G might be stopped up.

One cannot help wishing that these precautions had been more successful, and that the pyramid had remained unopened until the time when its contents could have been more appreciated.

Like the great pyramid, the two others were unfortunately rifled by mere treasure-seekers, before being scientifically examined. Near the pyramids is the Sphinx, of which I will only say that it seemed to us even more imposing than we had expected. Until recently, the date of the Sphinx was quite uncertain; but from an inscription recently discovered by M. Mariette, it seems to be even more ancient than the pyramids. The general form and appearance of the Sphinx are so well known that I need not describe them here,



but I cannot resist in conclusion reading a quotation from Kinglake, which one of my companions, Mr. Grant Duff, repeated to us from memory on the spot :—

“ Laugh and mock if you will at the worship of stone idols, but mark ye this, ye breakers of images, that in one regard the stone idol bears awful semblance of Deity—unchangefulness in the midst of change—the same seeming will and intent for ever and ever inexorable ! Upon ancient dynasties of Ethiopian and Egyptian kings—upon Greek and Roman, upon Arab and Ottoman conquerors—upon Napoleon dreaming of an eastern empire—upon battle and pestilence—upon keen-eyed travellers—Herodotus yesterday, and Warburton to-day—upon all, and more this unworldly Sphinx has watched, and watched like a providence, with the same earnest eyes, and the same sad tranquil mien. And we, we shall die, and Islam will wither away, and the Englishman, straining far over to hold his loved India, will plant a firm foot on the banks of the Nile, and sit in the seats of the Faithful, and still that sleepless rock will lie watching, and watching the works of the new, busy race, with those same sad, earnest eyes, and the same tranquil mien everlasting. You dare not mock at the Sphinx.”

THE END.

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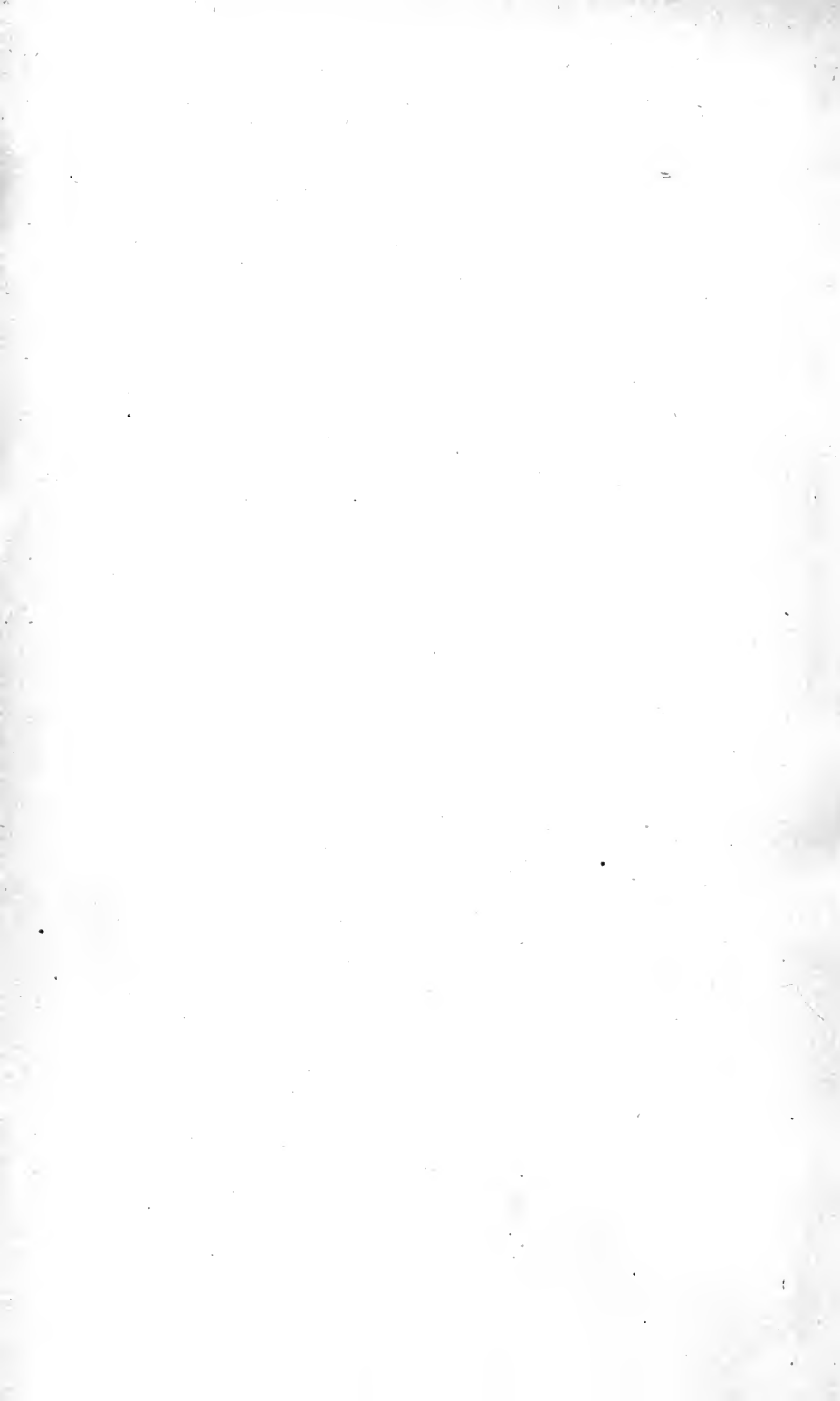
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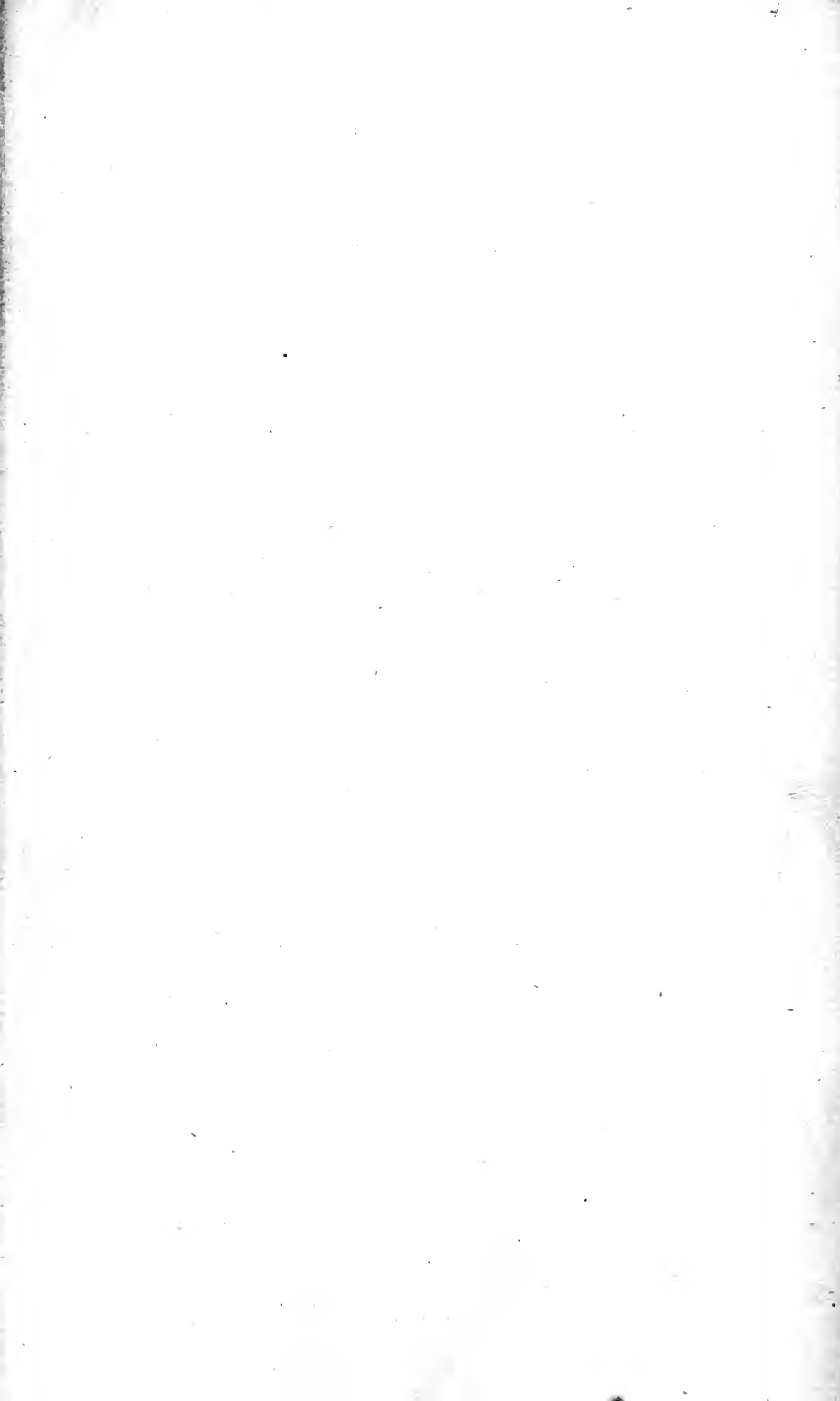
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